The MISSING PAGES

THE MODERN LIFE OF A MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT FROM GENOCIDE TO JUSTICE

HEGHNAR ZEITLIAN WATENPAUGH

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FROM GENOCIDE TO JUSTICE

HEGHNAR ZEITLIAN WATENPAUGH

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Cover credit: Toros Roslin, Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, 1256, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 59, fol. 6r (detail). Image used courtesy of Getty's Open Content program.

FOR MY FAMILY

and all families, sundered and united

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CONTENTS

Illustrations ix

Prologue 1

1 Survivor Objects. Artifacts of Genocide 19

2 Hromkla. The God-Protected Castle of Priests and Artists 48

3 Zeytun. The Lost World of Ottoman Armenians 79

4 Marash. The Holy Book Bears Witness 116

5 Aleppo. Survivors Reclaim their Heritage 157

6 New York. The Zeytun Gospels Enters Art History 190

7 Yerevan. Toros Roslin, Artist of the Armenian Nation 225

8 Los Angeles. The Contest over Art 261

Epilogue 300

About This Book 307
Note on Transliteration and Translation 311
Notes 313
Select Bibliography 371
Index 379

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ILLUSTRATIONS

World of the Zeytun Gospels (map)

COLOR PLATES

(*following page 156*)

Binding of the Zeytun Gospels
Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, first matching set
Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, second matching set
Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, third matching set
Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, fourth matching set
The Zeytun Gospels on display
Bifolium from the Canon Tables
Matthew the Evangelist, from the Zeytun Gospels
An Annunciation in the margins, from the Zeytun Gospels
The Birth of Toros Roslin, by Minas Avetisyan
Canonization Ceremony of the Martyrs of the Armenian Genocide

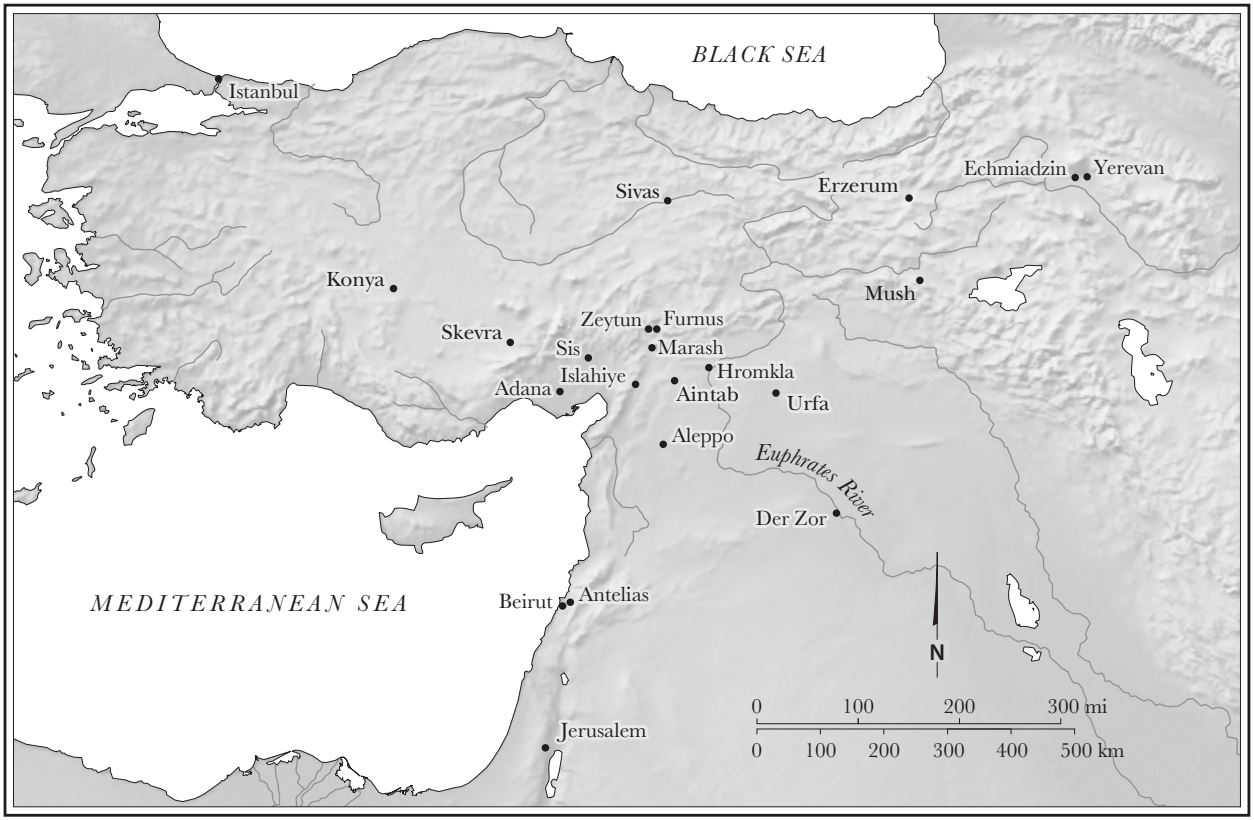
PHOTOGRAPHS

(*following page 260*)

The citadel of Zeytun
A street in Zeytun
Hand-drawn map of Marash
The German hospital in Marash
Melkon Atamian and his family

Sirarpie Der Nersessian and fellow students
Survivors of the genocide
The devastation of Armenian religious culture
Mesrob Mashtots Institute for Ancient Manuscripts, the Matenadaran
Hromkla in the present day
Khachkar in Hromkla
Zeytun in the present day
The fountain of Zeytun
J. Paul Getty Museum Director Timothy Potts and Archbishop Moushegh Mardirossian with the Canon Tables

The MISSING PAGES



World of the Zeytun Gospels

PROLOGUE

The attorney watched as the clerk at the Los Angeles County Superior Court stamped the date on his lawsuit. June 1, 2010. He filed it under the wire, just before the statute of limitations ran out. The lawsuit accused the world's wealthiest art institution, the J. Paul Getty Museum, of holding a sacred object vandalized and plundered during the Armenian Genocide. The plaintiff was a midsized faith group, the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America. The suit demanded the return of the Canon Tables, a fragment from a medieval Gospels, along with over a hundred million dollars in damages.[1]

The news media soon took hold of the story. The Getty Museum and its parent institution, the J. Paul Getty Trust, made well-chosen targets. Rich, powerful, and glamorous, they nevertheless carried a long and vexed history of buying looted antiquities, getting drawn into dramatic legal battles, and being forced to return artifacts to their rightful owners. The art press took note of a new kind of claimant in the crowded field of litigants seeking restitution: survivors of the Armenian Genocide and their heirs. The case recalled the better-known examples of art looted during the Holocaust, and the tenacious survivors and heroic attorneys who had fought against the odds to win back priceless objects pilfered long ago under the cover of genocide and sequestered in the pristine halls of affluent museums.

The suit avowed that the Canon Tables had been stolen, surreptitiously removed from the manuscript known as the Zeytun Gospels,

as a result of the Armenian Genocide. The museum's legal counsel responded by claiming that the Getty owned the pages as works of art, having acquired them legally, and that the suit should be dismissed without merit. The Church asserted that the Getty knew or should have known it was acquiring purloined goods. The Getty maintained that the Canon Tables had been in the United States for more than ninety years without anyone questioning its legal status.

The complaint made for absorbing reading. In a few pages it attempted to reconstruct the chain of events that had brought the Canon Tables to Los Angeles. Copied and illuminated in 1256, the manuscript had been kept in a church in Zeytun, a rugged town in the Taurus Mountains, as a revered relic and liturgical object. But the manuscript had its own agency as well, protecting the town and its people and accomplishing miracles among the congregants over the centuries. Fast-forward to the spring of 1915. As World War I engulfed the world, the Ottoman Empire initiated the exile and extermination of its own Armenian population in what is now known as the Armenian Genocide. When the inhabitants of Zeytun were cast out of their homes and set upon exile where most of them would perish, the Zeytun Gospels too was taken out of its church. It passed from hand to hand. During and after the genocide, the Zeytun Gospels intersected with the lives of individuals who venerated it, coveted it, treasured it, saved it, lost it, feared it, entrusted it to others, remembered it, and wrote about it. Decades later, when the Zeytun Gospels ended up in the Mesrob Mashtots Institute for Ancient Manuscripts (known as the Matenadaran) in the Republic of Armenia, its Canon Tables was absent. These missing pages, removed from the manuscript, had made their separate way to the United States in the possession of an Armenian family. The Getty Museum purchased the Canon Tables from the family in 1994.

At the center of the legal battle, competing arguments, and splashy news stories, the enigmatic Canon Tables stood still. Originally, the pages had appeared at the beginning of the manuscript

where they functioned as index tables of sorts, listing passages that narrate the same events in different Gospels. The illuminator, Toros Roslin, turned these eight pages into visual feasts of calligraphy, abstract ornament, and dynamic images observed from nature, including birds, fish, trees, and fruit. He set them in architectural frames highlighted in gold and vivid jewel-like colors. For centuries the artist's name was virtually unknown. Yet by the time the Canon Tables entered the Getty collection, art historians had recognized Roslin as one of the greatest artists of medieval Armenian art. The sacred relic had become a work of art of inestimable value.

The lawsuit struck a chord with Armenian Americans. It reminded them of the immense losses the genocide had inflicted, not only on their families but also on their culture. Now the eight glittering pages at the Getty Museum became a symbol of the uncounted manuscripts, liturgical objects, carpets, statues, paintings, and heirlooms that had been destroyed, lost, or stolen. Armenians have long mourned the destruction and theft of their art. A people almost erased from history, they still endure the denial of the crime of genocide by its perpetrators and their successors. Many despaired of ever seeing justice or restitution. The lawsuit in Los Angeles raised a tantalizing possibility. The lead attorney for the Church, Vartkes Yeghiayan, had previously prevailed in litigation with insurance companies that had sold policies to Armenians, then refused to pay out after the policyholders were murdered in the genocide. Could he prevail again? He presented the suit that demanded the return of the fragment separated from its mother manuscript as a quest to rejoin family members sundered by the genocide: "What we are doing is reuniting the orphans with their family," he said.[2] The Church spokesperson stated, "The time has come for the Armenian nation to demand the return of its historical-cultural heritage, lost during the Genocide. . . . This is about our people reclaiming their rights."[3] Something about this case and its timing resonated in the community, especially in California, even as debate swirled around its specifics.

The lawsuit also struck a chord with me. As an art historian, I have spent a good deal of my life in museums and know firsthand the positive impact on art history of a well-conserved collection, thoughtfully curated exhibitions, institutional archives, and research support. I was familiar with the Getty Museum, having visited it many times when I lived in Los Angeles. The Getty Trust had awarded me a postdoctoral fellowship in the History of Art in 2004 for an unrelated research project. Like many art historians, I was also well versed in critiques of museums, the way they turned archaeological objects and religious implements into works of art through the agency of display and the power of curation, and their long history of unscrupulous methods of acquisition. In my own research I had investigated the historiography of cultural heritage and colonial practices of preservation and destruction. Who owns, or should own, an object like the Canon Tables, and how is that determined? What would it mean for art history to be played out in the courts? The issues spoke to the art historian in me, but the story of the Zeytun Gospels also felt very personal.

Within a few weeks of the lawsuit's filing, I published an op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times*.[4] The lawsuit focused on the matter of rightful ownership, of good title. But one could spot other issues between the lines of legal writing. Here was a fragment of a sacred object of great power that was now in a museum, where it was treated as a work of art. I recognized the object's religious aura, yet as an art historian I wanted Roslin's illuminated pages to be accessible to the largest possible public to view, learn, enjoy, and even pray to. As a rare surviving example of medieval Armenian art, the Canon Tables has tremendous artistic and historical importance. I argued that the dispute should be an opportunity for a creative solution that balanced the claims and goals of both sides, as well as the general public. Art professionals had long sought outside-the-box solutions to restitution conflicts. In the 1990s, when Byzantine frescoes looted from a church in northern Cyprus appeared on the market,

American philanthropist Dominique de Menil reached an agreement with the Orthodox Church of Cyprus to purchase and restore the fragments. The church owned the wall paintings but authorized their display as the centerpiece of the Menil Collection's Byzantine Fresco Chapel in Houston. At once reliquary, museum, and church, it was an extraordinary space where the art value and religious value of the paintings coexisted in a deeply moving and thought-provoking presentation.[5]

I argued that a similar approach could work for the Canon Tables in Los Angeles. The Armenian Church and the Getty Museum could cooperate in creating an innovative space where the pages could recover some of their spiritual function, yet remain available for the study and enjoyment of the largest number of museum visitors and scholars. The Canon Tables could function simultaneously as works of art and as religious objects.

The tragic story of the mutilated manuscript should not be silenced but rather incorporated into the exhibition. The Canon Tables' continuing separation from the rest of the Zeytun Gospels mirrors the dispossession and dispersal of the Armenians themselves. Indeed, keeping the pages in this manner in Los Angeles would be particularly apt, as it is home to the second-largest Armenian community outside of Armenia—most of them descendants of survivors of the genocide.

An op-ed is not like the academic articles I normally publish. It prompts immediate reactions, both encouraging and disconcerting. Some of my art historian colleagues expressed dismay that I would intervene in a legal matter involving a museum. They seemed to think that academics should be seen and not heard when it comes to controversies surrounding art: we ought to research and interpret art yet somehow not delve into issues of the art market, provenance, theft, or atrocity that are part of the biography of many works of art. Some in the Armenian community objected that as an Armenian woman I expressed an opinion that did not align exactly with

the Church's claim. Others insinuated that I was out to curry favors from the Getty. That stung a bit. Clearly, communicating about a subject as complex and as sensitive as this was no easy feat. Yet the Canon Tables kept drawing me in.

The op-ed also opened up new horizons. I heard from anthropologists, historians, and attorneys who educated me and challenged me. I began to see a broader picture about art in the contemporary court of law. I attended conferences about art restitution and cultural heritage litigation; I listened to cultural activists and critics. Closer to home, family members and friends, the very ones who considered my usual research arcane, took an interest in the case and offered strong opinions.

Most of all, I kept thinking about the Canon Tables. I pictured the Zeytun Gospels as a complete manuscript. Priests and congregants, hymns and prayers, and the gentle smoke of incense burners encircled the holy object in its special relic box, far above the ravine in the mountain stronghold of Zeytun. I returned to Los Angeles to look at the Canon Tables. I scrutinized archival photographs, zooming in on details. I reexamined everything I knew about Zeytun, Roslin, medieval art, the Armenian Genocide, the destruction of cultural heritage, the liturgy of the Armenian Church, and art-related litigation. The court filings in the Canon Tables case offered a tantalizing look into the life of an Armenian manuscript caught in the vagaries of war, genocide, exile, and the art market. This was the kind of history of art that art history rarely addressed head-on. Yet it also prompted questions. What functions did the manuscript fulfill in the religious life of Zeytun? Was it possible to reconstruct each and every step of the journey the mother manuscript and the Canon Tables had embarked on? Which individuals had come into contact with the holy pages, and how had the pages changed them? Who exactly was Roslin, and how did he rise from obscurity to become the acclaimed master of medieval Armenian art? How does the saga of the Canon Tables shed light on Armenian cultural heritage and the

genocide? The Zeytun Gospels was exerting the same strong pull on me as it had on so many others before.

. . .

As the lawsuit was winding its way through legal procedures and court filings in Los Angeles, I decided to go on a pilgrimage, a quest, to retrace the steps of the Zeytun Gospels, from the site where it was created through all the known stations on the journey that eventually took the mother manuscript to Yerevan, Armenia, and the Canon Tables to Los Angeles. I hoped to gain a fuller understanding, not only of the manuscript itself and of its history but also of the places, landscapes, and even ruins where the Gospels had spent time during its itinerary. I hoped to learn something of how the Gospels and its communities had interacted in specific places, and how the genocide and its long-term effects had transformed these sites.

I first went to see the mother manuscript in the Republic of Armenia. The Matenadaran kept it safe alongside other manuscripts and fragments salvaged from destroyed Armenian Ottoman communities. The mother manuscript in Armenia, like the Canon Tables in Los Angeles, had been reinvented as an art masterpiece, far away from the dark churches of Zeytun.

Next I headed to Turkey. In Istanbul, where almost all the remaining Armenians in Turkey live today, Armenian and Turkish friends and colleagues listened to my travel plans, offered advice, put me in touch with friends of friends, and shared their own research on places and communities that don't exist anymore. *The southeast is a different world*, they warned. I was leaving cosmopolitan Istanbul and heading to the conservative provinces. There the heirs of those who had driven Armenians out still hacked away at vestiges of the Armenian past. I would search for traces that remained.

Toros Roslin illuminated the Zeytun Gospels in the scriptorium of the castle at Hromkla, a fortress of military and religious significance on the Euphrates River. Today it is a ruin called Rumkale near

the hamlet of Halfeti, a short drive from Urfa. Halfeti lies on the shore of an artificial lake, the result of a series of dams on the Euphrates completed around 2000. As part of this grand public works project, the Turkish state had moved the populations of nearby villages to Halfeti, then submerged their homes and fields. Today Rumkale is reachable by boat from Halfeti. The young boatman, Salih, was born in Old Halfeti.[6] *The dam was good for us*, he pointed out. *It created jobs*. Groups of young Turkish men and women were cruising around the lake, not toward any particular destination but just to glide on the water, play music, dance, and enjoy each other's company. *Visitors rarely ask to stop at the Rumkale ruins,* remarked Salih, even though the state had recently improved the boat access. Enterprising Salih recognized the potential of local heritage sites to drum up business for his family. He first motored over to a submerged village across from Rumkale. An old minaret from a village mosque arose from the water. From the boat I looked down into the cool, clear water and saw the shimmering building underneath, now called the Sunken Mosque.

The massive outcrop from which the castle of Hromkla had once dominated the valley was now an island, still water encircling it. From the modest boat slip I went up stone steps and passed through a broken gate. The trail went past decaying nineteenth-century buildings, perhaps barracks, and up toward remains of medieval structures. Salih gave a tour. *This is the Church of Aziz Nerses* (Saint Nerses), *in the Christian religion*, he said; *it is not Turkish because it is Christian*.

I told Salih the reason for my visit. *Centuries ago priests lived here and created beautiful books, painted them in gold and many colors*. I showed him a picture of the Zeytun Gospels on my phone. He raised an eyebrow: *Does your religion allow books with pictures?* Brought up as he was in the Islamic tradition, he must have expected religious books to eschew figural imagery, in contrast to the medieval Gospels' proclivity for narrative paintings. I said, *A few pages from this book are in Los Angeles in a great museum. Thousands of people go to see them*. He seemed

incredulous. Did he find it hard to believe that the medieval people here—Christian Armenians—created beautiful books that museums in America valued and collected? If he had any views as to why Rumkale and its surroundings were now bereft of Armenians, they remained unspoken.

Further up, at the highest point of the hill, was the King's Throne, as Salih called it. It was a monumental tower, supported precariously by scaffolding as if held up by toothpicks. Vertical cracks threatened to split it apart. An official plaque said this was a monastery built in the twelfth century. It made no reference to Christianity, Armenians, Toros Roslin, or the Catholicos of Cilicia. Rather than provide information, it appeared to be there to insist on the Turkish state's control over the ruins.

I looked up the tower's smooth, polished façade. It bore two carved stelae decorated with what appeared to be animal figures, or writing. I aimed my telephoto lens at the stelae, which I could not see well.

It was only later, after I downloaded the photos on my laptop, when I zoomed in to look at the details, that I could examine the castle's carvings properly. The writing was fragmentary but clearly Armenian. The letters spelled an abbreviation for *Jesus Christ*. There were beautifully carved animals: a pair of chained lions and an eagle with its wings outstretched. Between the letters and above the animals there had once been an Armenian cross. It was scraped out. Someone, more than one—*they*—had climbed high on the ruined tower and had taken the time and effort to chisel out the cross, meticulously, methodically, intentionally. It was not an accident, oversight, or the result of the ravages of time, or lightning, or earthquake. They had scraped out the cross but had taken care to leave intact the animals, even part of the letters. They did not intend to erase all the signs. They only erased that which recalled Christian Armenians. The eagle, the felines, could stay. Even the letters could stay once they had been partially erased, converted from alphabet and sacred

words to mere illegible decorative pattern. Those persons, the mutilators of Hromkla, I felt I could hear them say: *By the time we are done, no Armenian will ever have lived in this place. No Armenian will ever have created art in this place.* Yet the shadow of the cross still remained, or perhaps I thought I could discern it.

. . .

Centuries ago the manuscript was taken to Zeytun, a rugged town in the Taurus Mountains, and was kept there in a church as a revered relic and liturgical object. Following the Gospels' journey, I traveled from Hromkla to Zeytun, present-day Süleymanlı. To reach it today one takes the new highway up the mountain from Marash, the nearest town. The mountain has certainly changed since World War I. The old road between Marash and Zeytun, where the famous Zeytun muleteers, guides, and brigands had once plied their trade, is now underwater, another result of the great dam projects on the Euphrates and its tributaries. Fish farms have sprung up along the reservoirs and offer grilled *alabalık* fish, salad, and turnip juice. People have settled in the villages where Armenians once lived. The hot springs near Zeytun, once part of the mountain's sacred landscape, now form the main attraction of the new spa town of Ilıca. It caters to middle-class Turks, who observe rules of Islamic modesty in impeccably clean and unpretentious resorts with separate thermal baths for men and women. There are no foreign tourists.

Zeytun came into view as the road wound its way up the mountain. It was raining. Under a heavy gray cloud, the town appeared like a perfect triangle set between two peaks, overlooking a lush alpine meadow.

A narrow bridge over a gorge connects Zeytun town to the main road. Near it is the famous fountain of Zeytun. A great stone arch shelters three smaller arches. Ice-cold water pours out from channels under each arch and into a stone trough. The cornice above the arches features a band of carving in the honeycomb-like *muqarnas*

pattern. At its center a roundel still bears the traces of a cross that has been scraped out. Underneath, at eye level, the central arch features carvings of cypress trees, a roundel with a rose, another with a five-pointed star. Above it is a frame, now empty, in which you can still discern the shadow of an inscription of multiple lines that has been carefully erased. Again, *they* had come with their chisels to remove that which was Armenian, and only that, from the fountain. The decorative border could stay. The cypress and the rose could stay. *By the time we are done, no Armenian will have ever lived in this place. No Armenian will have ever created art in this place.*

The sounds of the torrents down in the ravine pervade Zeytun. The town is perched on a steep mountain slope. Little remains of the old Armenian town. Fires, decay, and intentional destruction have removed most vestiges. A large Turkish flag looms over the few stones that remain on the site of the citadel. The Church of the Holy Mother of God, where the Zeytun Gospels was kept, must have once stood there. The citadel affords spectacular sweeping views of the surrounding countryside. On the precipitous slopes animals graze and little goats jump on piles of rocks. At the foot of the citadel a modern mosque nestles, with an Ottoman-style dome and pencil-shaped minaret. The torrents are deafening there.

When a heavy rain started to pour, a woman called out from her balcony on a house nearby: *Come in, drink tea!* Soaked as we were, our small party accepted gratefully. We went up one story to a wooden home. After removing our shoes we shuffled into a sitting room dominated by a wood-burning stove and a TV, blaring loudly even though no one paid attention to it. After the introductions the men adjourned to the balcony to drink tea, while the women remained with the lady of the house and her daughter-in-law. Latife Hanım welcomed us with the treats in her pantry: the local raisins, deep black with large pits, called *kabarcık*; bread baked in the tandoor oven a few meters away; home-churned butter; warm glasses of just-milked milk. Her sheer joy at hosting perfect strangers who on

a rainy day happened upon her street was contagious. Family stories poured out. Of Latife's four children, all had left in search of work, leaving only the youngest son's new bride to help her with her chores. She bemoaned, *Young people don't stick around here*. I asked her where her family was from. She sketched out her grandparents' vague provenance in an eastern European village whose name she did not know. It was not among the issues that mattered.

The rain cleared. We strolled around Zeytun. On the steep edges of the torrent, any available small patch of flat land had been carefully cleared of rocks and cultivated. That is where Latife started her seeds. Chore followed chore as the day wore on. From the forest up the slope she gathered firewood and loaded it on her donkey to bring back home, slowly and carefully on the inclined streets. She showed us the old road at the town's edge that climbed up Berid Mountain and toward Albistan. Made up of large, rough rocks, the ancient road was terraced at regular intervals, making the tilt easier to navigate. Latife's husband said, *Those who built this road long ago, they were hardworking. Today people are lazy*.[7] A neighbor, Hasan Bey, wanted to show us something. He had built his home above an old hammam. He used it as a stable and for hay storage now. I could see that under all the dirt the floor was laid with alternating white and black stones. Stone arches supported the high ceiling. The donkey drank from a heavy marble basin. Hasan Bey insisted on gifting us the warm eggs just hatched by his chickens that roosted in the old hammam. Nearby was another of the old bath's rooms, deserted, its roof vaults gaping open, overgrown with trees.

Throughout our visit Latife Hanım did not ask what had brought us to Zeytun. Just as I was leaving, she pointed out, unprompted, a place far away on the mountain. *That is where the Armenian cemeteries were*, she said. Nothing was visible there now but prancing goats.

I tried to find remains of the trails, holy places, and villages that once dotted the surrounding landscape. The village of Kıshla lies between Zeytun and the spa town of Ilıca. The name means "garri-

son," and indeed the village had sprung from the remains of the old Ottoman barracks, constructed in the nineteenth century to tame the rebellious Armenians of Zeytun. One could still see the military-grade strong walls with vertical slit windows, and reinforced corners. Now they supported newer upper stories, where balconies were overhung with grapevines, and grandmothers hung laundry on plastic lines. Latife's beautiful daughter-in-law was from Kıshla. An old lady interrupted her work in her vegetable patch to chat with us. To our question of where her family came from, she vaguely said Ayvalık. She had lived here since she was five. The topic seemed to interest her only minimally. The past seemed irrelevant.

Most men wore work clothes and the billowy black pants typical of southern Turkey. A young man stood out in a shiny blue suit. He was the mayor of Zeytun and the only person who used the town's official name, Süleymanlı, in his conversation. His cell phone constantly ringing, he was working to usher the opportunities and comforts of the Turkish business middle class to the mountain.

Near Kıshla, on a promontory with a clear view toward Zeytun, stood an official monument. Grave markers sheltered the remains of those killed as they put down the Armenian rebellions of 1895 and 1915: Colonel Tahsin of the Ottoman army and Major Süleyman of the gendarmerie, in addition to twenty-five unnamed martyred soldiers. A spent cannon ball, which presumably saw action during the pacification of the Armenians, was also enshrined. A plaque certified this as an official monument erected in 2004.[8] Inscriptions quoted speeches by Kemal Atatürk, while a sign clarified that Zeytun's name was changed to Süleymanlı by the sultan's decree to honor the fallen Major Süleyman in 1915. The monument did not narrate the events it commemorated in any detail. But it starkly opposed the Ottoman state, with all the weight of legitimacy, to the Zeytun Armenians, depicted as murderous rebels. This official monument was the only place in or near Zeytun where the word *Armenian* appeared and where the presence of Armenians in this place was

acknowledged. The Armenians were nameless, while the Turkish leaders had names. The Armenians were *isyancılar*—rebels. The officials were martyrs who upheld the social order. Armenian violence was illegitimate; Turkish violence was legitimate. The sign did not explain why there were no longer any Armenians remaining here. They rebelled, they were put down, and then voluntarily faded into history. The rebels had no graves. It was a monument that glorified the violence of the state and excoriated the Armenians, cast them as murderous rebels, and thereby ousted them from the legitimate social order.

The scratched-out cross and inscriptions at Zeytun, the monument at Kıshla, spoke of an enshrined hate, of a past barely remembered except through the vilification of an enemy whose traces have been erased many times over. Yet the Armenian ghosts of Zeytun were still somehow present. The warmth, genuine kindness, and generosity of Latife's household was difficult to reconcile with the violence the fountain had endured and the monument still professed.

. . .

In the spring of 1915, when the Ottoman state initiated the genocide of its Armenian subjects, Asadur, of the noble house of Surenian, took the Gospels with him from Zeytun on the road to exile. He spent time in Marash, where the Gospels passed to Dr. Artin Der Ghazarian, a surgeon and amateur historian.

From the citadel of Marash I viewed the city spread out on the foothills of Ahır Mountain, from its tranquil old core stacked on a gentle slope all the way to the new highway and suburbs full of modern apartment buildings. The Kanlı Dere (Bloody Valley River) runs through it. Dr. Der Ghazarian lost the Gospels during the Battle of Marash of 1920, when he very nearly lost his life. The Liberation Museum on the citadel depicts this same battle, one of the first confrontations in what official memory calls the Turkish War for Independence, in a series of dioramas complete with miniature build-

ings and Lego-sized costumed dolls.[9] In the diorama the occupying French forces, allied with the treacherous and cowardly Armenians, oppress the Muslims of Marash, provoke them, and set fire to the city before fleeing on toy horses. Heroic *çetes* (irregulars, militia) from Marash then pursue the occupiers all the way to Aintab, Urfa, and Aleppo. Tiny graves of the righteous fill a martyr's cemetery. All the Armenian figures then vanish.

Relatively little survives intact from old Marash apart from restored historic mosques. I visit some newly refurbished traditional mansions in the old city core. Some of them once belonged to well-to-do Armenians. Sheltered behind walls and on one side of a courtyard, their multistory living quarters stand in stone with wooden stairs and roofs, and with large balconies that afford sweeping views. On what was once the town's northern edge is a compound of stone buildings erected for the American missionaries. These structures are now part of a military installation. Some visitors say a church bell from the American Protestant Chapel remains inside, bearing an English inscription. The German hospital where Dr. Artin practiced medicine must have been nearby. Local lore holds that the ghost of a German nun haunts this neighborhood at night.

Near the city center, in one of the main arteries close to the entrance of the covered market, groups of statues reenact scenes from the French occupation. French soldiers insult a veiled lady; a Marash citizen defends her honor; local hero Sütçü Imam and his followers raise their fists. They stand frozen in cast metal while daily life unfolds around them. Scruffy Syrian children beg on the street in broken Turkish. In the covered bazaar, craftsmen make saddles, tin copper pots, and sell textiles and foodstuffs like the famous flat, paper-thin *tarhana* of Marash (a dried mixture of grain and yoghurt) or its luscious goat-milk ice cream. Merchants tell of "friends" from Brazil or Aleppo or New York, Marash Armenians who visit, never staying long. *Do you know Nazar from Uruguay?* They invoke stories heard from elders, told hurriedly in the Marash dialect of Turkish.

The stories always involve Armenians and Turks from Marash looking out for each other in far-away places, taking care of each other, helping each other return home. They know the names of the old Armenian families of Marash. I take out pictures of the Zeytun Gospels; again, the question: *Your religion permits books with such images, then?* I tell them how the Gospels had come to Marash from Zeytun, and Dr. Artin of the German hospital had saved, then lost them. They are familiar with Dr. Artin, and the map he drew of his hometown, from memory, years later in exile: *Well, I think there are a couple of tiny errors in his map of Marash!* How many people do I know that have studied Dr. Artin's map as closely as I have? It is heartwarming. Still, no one gets into why no Armenians remain.

Marash is a modest place. It figures neither in Turkey's cultural heritage nor on beach tourism circuits. It is bereft of any major industry, state institutions, or a university, and no major highway goes through it. Few have reason to come here, and many of the young men leave to seek work in the big cities. It occurs to me that for these middling Marashlıs, the descendants of Armenians their grandfathers dispossessed and evicted have become their one link to the wider world, the only people who share their affection for the city beneath Ahır Mountain, and their firm belief that the Marashlı can never stir too far from it: *We cannot bear not seeing Ahır Mountain*.[10]

The Armenians and the Turks always got along well in Marash, my hosts insist. In Marash, there were always only Turks, Armenians, and some Jews. There were never any Kurds here. The Jews left at an unspecified time for unspecified reasons. As for the good Marash Armenians, they were gentle and compliant. They fell victim to the Zeytuntsis, those troublesome, contrarian, and stubborn Armenians of the highlands.[11] *That is what they say*, my host concludes, *I myself do not know*. A junk-store owner hawks an antique rifle with a six-faceted barrel, assuring me it was forged in Zeytun and no doubt used by rebels. Official memory around Marash, statues and museums, vilifies Armenians as a whole. Popular memory distinguishes between

good and bad Armenians, excoriates the bad Armenians and blames them not only for their own demise, but also for the demise of the good Armenians of Marash. The good Armenians, at a remove of a century, appear in a rosy fog of nostalgia. They symbolize local pride. They rise from the dead to absolve the Turks of Marash from any sense of responsibility.

The Marash Armenians were hardworking, many were very wealthy, my host said. Some still dig among the ruins looking for treasure, the hidden gold Armenians left behind. But this is never a good idea. Several people he knew of who had found gold faced all kinds of misfortune and suffered illness, reversals. He concluded with the proverb, *Ağlayanın malı gülene hayir etmez*. "The riches of those who have wept will not benefit those who laugh." I took him to mean that the wealth of those who have been wronged brings bad luck to those who usurp it. I took him to imply that he held fast to ethical and moral standards, regardless of the atrocities in his hometown's past.

As in Zeytun, there was a jarring rift between the warmth of my hosts, their genuine pride in their town and their desire to share its every stone and every story, and the official vilification of Armenians and the erasure of the past. The lacunae in my hosts' stories glared at me especially later, when I learned about the Kurdish and Alevi communities who lived in and around the town. Marash had been the scene of the 1978 massacre, when the Grey Wolves, the militant arm of the right-wing Nationalist Movement Party (known as MHP after its Turkish initials), attacked left-wing individuals and their families, many of whom were Alevis. Intercommunal violence had persisted here long after the genocide. Yet my hosts' stories left these events out and painted a flattened, guilt-free picture of the town and its past.

In Marash my hosts surrounded me with the kind of hospitality I knew so well from my own extended family. It was attentive, it was warm; it also felt overwhelming, even oppressive. One is their guest, but one is also something of a prisoner. When my visit came to an end, my hosts insisted on accompanying me to the airport, all the

way to the stairs leading up to the plane. I was thankful and grateful. Perhaps I also felt they needed to make sure I indeed left. The last Armenian in Marash got on the plane and took off.

. . .

Retracing the steps of the Gospels showed me that the genocide, the expulsion of Armenians from their homeland, and the relentless erasure of Armenian traces in Turkey ever since had very nearly severed the connection between the Zeytun Gospels and the places where it was created, worshipped, and treasured for centuries. The Armenian traces of Hromkla, Zeytun, and Marash had been expunged many times over. The manuscript had fallen victim to the genocide along with its people. It had survived, and it had followed the fate of the Armenians—cast out of its homeland, cleaved into two, and dispersed.

Back in Los Angeles, after five years of litigation and mediation, the Western Prelacy and the Getty Museum reached a settlement. The Canon Tables would remain at the Getty, and the museum acknowledged their connection to the Church. The settlement, welcomed by the parties, nonetheless did little to clarify the puzzles the manuscript presented. My quest continued—to understand the holy book and its people, to reconstruct its biography, to examine what the manuscript meant to those who had come into contact with it, and how the manuscript itself had changed. The saga of the Zeytun Gospels, of a sacred relic and an art object, of the fragment and the whole, of its perilous journey through time and space, mirrors the stories of survivors and refugees and their paths toward remaking their lives and creating new futures. The story of a trafficked object and of its people reveals much about the nature of survival and how art and cultural heritage are central to it. This book tells the story of the Zeytun Gospels, the paths it crossed and the places it encountered along with the Armenian people, as well as the gaps and mysteries that still shroud its journey, and likely always will.

Chapter 1

SURVIVOR OBJECTS

Artifacts of Genocide

• LOS ANGELES. THE J. PAUL GETTY MUSEUM. PRESENT DAY. *The illuminated manuscript pages dwelled in the modern cabinet in the sterile storage room. A visage emerged from the carpet of gold on one of the parchment sheets. He had been restless ever since the great rupture. He stole a glance upward.*

Some things had not changed. Above him the roosters strode confidently toward a jeweled vase. To his left his twin visage kept watch. Beneath them an arch opened up like a fan. The partridges and blue birds hidden in the gold leaf still pecked at tendrils. All this rested on three columns of painted porphyry and patterned gold. The column capitals, the blue ox heads, bore the weight, docile as ever. Beyond the frame birds alighted on the pomegranate trees and the outlandish plants Toros had devised. The visage could still feel the painter's breath as he labored over every detail, holding his delicate brushes. The letters Toros had inscribed beneath the arch stood at attention at their appointed places in a grid outlined in gold. The visage could see all the way down to the base of the columns. Tiny red dots sprinkled along the base resonated with the red of the pomegranates, the roosters' combs and wattles, even the visage's own headgear.

Other things had changed, however. The visage remembered that in the beginning he had lived across from another page, a near-echo of his own, with similar roosters, oxen, pomegranate trees, the fanlike arch, even the red dots. His page and the original echo page featured myriad differences, too, that the visage delighted in finding over and over again. Since the great rupture, that echo page had moved away. The visage shared a bifolium with another page instead. Even though it too had an arch, a grid of letters, and even the same color scheme, its

differences were jarring. Its trees were palms bearing owls, its partridges pecked at a silver vase, its carpet of gold bore distinct ornaments, its column capitals were twin birds, and its grid of letters was denser. It was not his echo. It was never meant to be seen across from him.

The visage resumed his silent vigil. He had survived the great rupture, but would he ever find his echo again?

. . .

Consider the Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels, preserved today at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. You are looking at four sheets of parchment. Each sheet of parchment is folded down the middle, turning into two connected leaves. In the art of bookmaking, a folded sheet is called a bifolium and yields four sides: four folios. Each folio measures 26.5 by 19 centimeters, or 10⁷⁄₁₆ by 7½ inches. The Canon Tables consists of a total of sixteen folios. Eight of the folios bear illuminations, while their eight backs are left blank. These folded sheets of parchment were once nested together in a gathering and bound with other gatherings of folded parchment.[1] In the resultant book, the pages appeared in a carefully ordered sequence. As you opened the book and looked at the Canon Tables, you saw the illuminated folios as matched sets, as four pairs of pages facing one another. The facing pages echoed each other's decoration. As your eye traveled from one page to the other, you would notice their similarities as well as subtle differences, not unlike a refined "Spot the Difference" puzzle. Between each illuminated pair the blank folios allowed you to pause and cleanse your palate before turning to the next meticulously crafted pair of images. The makers of this artwork of great luxury used the most lavish materials, and they could afford to have only one side of a parchment page painted.

The illuminated pages feature decorated architectural frames. The frames shelter golden grids that contain series of letters written in the Armenian alphabet in *bolorgir*, a lowercase script. Around the frames many species of birds frolic; some hold fish in their beaks,

and others drink from vessels or nibble at stylized plants and flowers. Within the frames you discern more birds and even human faces, nestled among ornamental fields in brilliant colors. The facing pairs of the Canon Tables feature the same layouts, yet each page looks unique. The painter Toros Roslin, working in 1256 in the Kingdom of Cilicia, unified them in design yet created subtle distinctions.[2] He distilled the essence of medieval visual harmony into eight glorious painted pages.

The letters within the frames represent numbers. The grids of letters are thus numerical tables of a specific kind. The pages at the Getty depict canon tables—concordance lists of passages that relate the same events in two or more of the four Gospels. Designed by Eusebius of Caesarea in the 300s, by the early Middle Ages canon tables almost always preceded the Gospels and usually featured columns of numbers assembled within painted architectural structures. The Canon Tables now at the Getty was once part of a manuscript copy of the four narratives of Christ's life by Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John that make up the Christian New Testament. The manuscript is known as the Zeytun Gospels after the remote mountain town where it was once kept and revered for its mystical powers of blessing and protection. When the people of Zeytun were exiled from their homes and exterminated, the manuscript too was taken away and broken into fragments.

The gathering of illuminated Canon Tables that is now in Los Angeles was detached from the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels. No longer part of a book, it now appears as component parts: four sheets of parchment, folded in the middle. You can still see the small holes in the vertical fold at the center of each bifolium, where the threads that bound the manuscript together into a codex would once have been. Perhaps the Canon Tables came loose from the binding over time. Or perhaps someone cut the thread. In any event, somehow the pages bearing the Canon Tables were removed from the Zeytun Gospels.

The photographs of the Canon Tables you see reproduced in this book allow you to appreciate the aesthetic qualities of this work at a remove. If you were in the presence of the Canon Tables, however, you would be able to appreciate the almost three-dimensional quality of painted parchment—the relief created by dots of paint, the way in which areas of color play off of one another, the shimmer of the gold ink: qualities that are difficult to reproduce digitally. You would also have noticed something else. The curators at the Getty have exhibited each bifolium of the Canon Tables as it is—as two connected illuminated folios. However, the illuminations on the connected folios are not the matching pairs the painter intended to be seen together. Indeed, the matching pairs would only find each other if the gathering was nestled together again, as originally intended in the book. In a museum gallery it is difficult to recreate the experience of leafing through a manuscript. You can only exhibit a book open at a particular page or, in the case of the Canon Tables, the entire bifolium. Thus when you encounter Roslin's Canon Tables on exhibition at the Getty, you will see two facing illuminated pages, but they will not be the matching pair the artist planned. They will be images from two different sets.

Viewing the Canon Tables displayed at the museum, you will also notice another feature that does not readily lend itself to photography. A crease extends horizontally across the two connected pages. It seems that no amount of careful conservation will smooth it out. This crease tells you something about the life story of the Canon Tables. It was likely caused when the gathering was removed from the mother manuscript and folded up.[3] This crease enables you to imagine how, at some point, unknown hands removed the Canon Tables from the mother manuscript, how they folded it, perhaps tucked it in a pocket or in the folds of a fabric belt like the ones men wore in the waning days of the Ottoman Empire, and took it away. The crease shows us that the work of art bears the imprint of the actions it endured, and of its separation from the mother manuscript.

This crease marks the moment when the work became a fragment; it is the trace of its loss.

At that moment the holy manuscript cleaved into two. Each piece acquired a new possessor and embarked on a distinct journey. The mother manuscript followed a twisted path that eventually took it to the Republic of Armenia. The Canon Tables left the Mediterranean littoral, moved across the Atlantic Ocean, and decades later made landfall on the Pacific shore, in one of the world's greatest and wealthiest museums. In Los Angeles, descendants of the community that once revered the Zeytun Gospels as a devotional object brought out only on special religious occasions can now view its detached Canon Tables on exhibition, displayed alongside other works of art in a museum hall, open to the public.

A fortuitous chain of circumstances brought the Canon Tables to Los Angeles. The Zeytun Gospels is a remnant of a medieval world that is lost forever. It is also the only medieval relic that has come down to us from the once-rich treasuries of Zeytun's churches. It is among the rare manuscripts to survive the unprecedented assault on Armenian cultural heritage that was part of what we now know as the Armenian Genocide. For every manuscript that endured, many more were lost forever, intentionally destroyed, burned, recycled for other uses, abandoned, or left to decay.

PROVENANCE AND POWER

In 1995, shortly after acquiring the Canon Tables, the Getty Museum introduced it to the public with the following brief provenance:

> *Catholicos Constantine I (1221–67); bound into a Gospel book in Kahramanmaras, Turkey; Nazareth Atamian; private collection, U.S.*[4]

In 2016, the Getty amended the provenance:

> *1256, Catholicos Konstandin I, died 1267; by 1923–1994, in the possession of the Atamian Family; 1994, acquired by The J. Paul Getty Museum; 2016, gift of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, by agreement.*[5]

These terse lists condense the biography of the Canon Tables since the creation of the Zeytun Gospels in 1256. In the twenty-odd years between the two versions of the provenance, the Canon Tables entered the manuscripts collection at the Getty Museum, appeared in scholarly exhibitions, became the subject of a contentious lawsuit, and saw it resolved through a settlement. The Armenian Church stipulated the change in provenance as one of the conditions of the agreement; in turn, the Church donated the Canon Tables to the Getty. The changes in the provenance are telling, but its silences are telling as well.

Provenance is a highly specific type of record, a chronological list of the successive owners of a work of art, and the manner of its transfer among them. Provenance communicates the itineraries objects trace through space and time as they are sold, inherited, bartered, and transferred. Provenance can transform the significance and value of an object in varied ways. It can alter its meaning, impact, and visibility just as surely as it impacts its location, state of preservation, and documentation. When provenance lists are known for objects of great antiquity, they may tell us much about the historic development of taste, the relationship between the present and the past, realities of war and economic exigencies. Recently art historians have delved into provenance as a meaningful type of text, even as an "alternate history of art," a window on to the social life of art since its creation.[6]

Provenance often tells ordinary, perfectly legal stories of sale, purchase, or inheritance. The archives of auction houses record which artworks sold and which languished unwanted, the bidding wars that reveal the allure of a particular object, as well as the rise and fall of artists whose works are in demand at one point then utterly forgotten. Inventories of art collections disclose the movement of paintings and sculptures as they are inherited, bequeathed, gifted, or sold to pay debts. Sometimes the artworks themselves tell their own stories: successive owners place their stamp or monogram on a valued

object or add a binding to a medieval manuscript or a new frame to a Baroque panel painting. All of these sources provide information about provenance but also about the contexts of each transfer of ownership, the human stories and historical circumstances.

When a new owner acquires an object, its provenance acquires an added item. Curators and scholars make changes in the official provenance of objects in museum collections when they discover new information or correct an error. Sometimes, however, changes in provenance are made in response to pressure from legal action or public opinion. Consider, for example, the first time the Getty Museum made public the provenance of the Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, in 1995, shortly after acquisition. This brief list mentions the first owner, Catholicos Constantine, Nazaret Atamian, and the Getty. The list mentions no owners between the death of Constantine in 1267 and Nazaret Atamian's acquisition of the Canon Tables almost seven centuries later. In 2016 the Getty modified the Canon Tables' provenance as part of its agreement with the Armenian Church. The new provenance includes additional information about the Canon Tables' ownership history in the twentieth century, the period under contention in the lawsuit. Its careful wording stops short of attributing ownership to the Atamian family, with whom the Canon Tables remained between 1923 and 1994. The new provenance acknowledges in effect that the Canon Tables always belonged to the Church, even when it resided with the Atamians and when it was acquired by the Getty in 1994, until the Church gifted the Canon Tables to the Getty in 2016. In this case litigation and negotiation invited renewed attention to the artwork's history and eventually led to a new provenance. In its concision the provenance reveals little of the great labor of scholarship and litigation that went into its production.

Art objects, especially those ancient and valued, often have convoluted lives. Their provenance is rarely seamless. Gaps appear when records go missing, research yields no information, or objects

are excavated by accident or by looters and their findspot remains undocumented. Darkly, in some cases, provenance can also tell—or conceal—stories of theft, war, atrocity, colonialism, genocide, destruction, appropriation, or exploitation. Art objects with a fragmentary or sketchy provenance may have been the result of illegal excavation or looting. For instance, shadowy middlemen or unscrupulous owners may obscure less savory episodes of an object's life, as when looters pilfered an antique bronze from an excavation site in Italy, or when acquisitive collectors forcibly seized a sacred object from a Native American community, or when a Nazi official usurped a painting from a Jewish art dealer.[7]

In addition to telling tales, or obfuscating others, provenance itself can become contested terrain. In recent years attorneys, activists, indigenous communities, and some governments challenged collectors and museum officials with renewed zeal on the provenance of certain objects. They brought restitution claims regarding pieces that had been stolen, seized, or illegally exported, violating laws and international norms. After much resistance, the art world responded by emphasizing transparency in the provenance of objects in museum collections, and the art market grew more cautious in the sale of artworks with incomplete or questionable provenance. Despite greater awareness of such problems, the contest between communities and powerful institutions over the control of cultural patrimony continues—as in the case of the Canon Tables. The struggle for restitution, repatriation, and the reunification of art or sacred objects with their communities, and the fraught questions this raises, is one of the central issues of twenty-first-century art history.

These contests throw into sharp relief the relationships of power that structure the circulation of art objects and underlie every transaction that provenance chronicles. During conflicts, when art is liable to be looted, record-keeping becomes an act of power that can serve the interests of the powerful rather than the rightful claims of ownership that it purports to present. Thus, meticulous record-keeping

was part and parcel of the Nazis' organized looting of Europe's art during World War II. Provenance can be a record of added value and prestige but it can also serve to obliterate traces of violence and injustice. Conversely, certain kinds of record-keeping can be acts of resistance, uncovering suppressed episodes of an object's history. The curator Rose Valland, who witnessed the Nazis' mass looting of art from French national institutions as well as private French Jewish collections, famously kept a secret inventory of looted objects, risking her life. Her notes proved invaluable for the recovery of art after the war.[8]

The Canon Tables' provenance, written and rewritten, chronicles the life of an artwork. It also speaks of the people who created it, worshipped it, traded it, and in some cases took terrible risks to save it. Violence, exile, separation, and migration mark the Zeytun Gospels' trajectory over the last century. The silences in its provenance also tell tales about unequal struggles, seemingly hopeless causes, resistance, resilience, and contestation. The story that the provenance of the Zeytun Gospels tells matches the modern history of Armenians.

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

The Armenian Genocide and its many afterlives shape modern Armenian history, just as they determine the fate of the Zeytun Gospels. The Ottoman government carried out the systematic extermination of its own Armenian community during the Great War.[9] On April 24, 1915, the symbolic beginning of the genocide, the Ottoman police rounded up Armenian community notables, politicians, intellectuals, and businessmen in the imperial capital of Istanbul. Most of them were murdered after varying periods of detention in central Anatolia. Parallel to this "decapitation" of the community's leaders, the Ottoman state initiated the uprooting and extermination of ordinary Armenians in provinces throughout the empire. Zeytun was among the first localities targeted in early April 1915. The pattern

repeated itself with few variations: authorities separated out the Armenians from the rest of the population and ordered them into internal exile with little warning. Gendarmes and military officials led the civilians on long death marches away from cities, only to massacre them outright or allow them to perish from attacks by looters or bandits or from exposure. Survivors endured renewed ordeals, pushed ever eastward into the Syrian desert, away from the prying eyes of urban communities, journalists, or diplomats. The gendarmes herded Armenians into ill-equipped concentration camps in the desert where disease, starvation, and attacks ravaged them. While the last survivors were still agonizing, back in their homes neighbors and others were looting their houses and businesses; the state was confiscating their property through special laws; and the desecration, destruction, and plunder of religious and cultural sites was meeting little opposition.

The active extermination phase of the Armenian Genocide concluded when the Allied Powers defeated the Ottomans. The empire gave way to new republics, like Turkey, or successor states under the sway of France, such as Syria and Lebanon, or of Great Britain, such as Iraq and Palestine. Yet there was no full reckoning for the Armenians. The Republic of Turkey adopted an official policy of denial.[10] Leaders of the republic included unrepentant genocide perpetrators, while the economic elite derived their affluence in part through confiscated Armenian wealth.[11] In addition to silencing the past, the Turkish state subjected the remaining Armenians and all non-Muslim minorities to discrimination and persecution, and condoned hate crimes against them, fostering a culture of impunity.[12] Decades after its founding, the Turkish state continued to confiscate Armenian property, including communal religious property. Denial, continued persecution, hatred, expropriation of wealth, destruction of cultural monuments, appropriation of cultural achievements: there has not been acknowledgment, let alone apology, atonement, or reparation to any degree and any kind, even the most minimal, by state institutions. Indeed,

genocide does not only consist in active killing but also extends to persecution, oppression, and dispossession, both open and clandestine, to the prevention of a group from the free practice of their language and religion, and to the creation of conditions that make it impossible for a community to continue to exist physically, religiously, and culturally. From this perspective, the Armenian Genocide is not only unacknowledged and denied; it persists into the present.[13]

The unremitting denial of the Armenian Genocide and the near-silencing of Armenian history in Turkey harm Armenian communities in manifold ways. Among non-Muslim citizens of Turkey, the Christian and Jewish communities continue to dwindle. Today their number hovers around a minuscule one hundred thousand in a country of nearly seventy-seven million. While Turkey's non-Muslim minorities are all vulnerable, the Armenians face the most virulent treatment.[14] Another palpable effect is the gradual loss of culture, religion, and language. In 2010, UNESCO classified the Western Armenian language in Turkey as "definitely endangered" in its "Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger."[15]

The denial of the Armenian Genocide saddles those who would write the history of Armenians and Turks with a tremendous burden. Official Turkish historiography rarely even mentions the word *Armenian*. It minimizes, silences, or outright represses the historic presence of Armenian communities in Anatolia and their traces such as monuments or churches. Public discussion in Turkey has long aped official historiography. International scholars too have been reticent to stray from the official line. A decade ago Donald Quataert described the deliberate avoidance of the subject of Armenians among historians of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey as a "heavy aura of self-censorship" and as "a wall of silence."[16] Since then, a new wave of scholarship has begun to challenge and reshape the history of the late Ottoman Empire and to deepen our understanding of the genocide. Nevertheless, official state denial of the violence and the proscription of the use of the word *genocide* continue.

The corrosive effects of genocide denial mark even those who seek to counter it.[17] In addition to the challenges of writing about any aspect of the past, those who write about the Armenian Genocide have to contend with intense scrutiny, accusations of lying, and the pressure to offer incontrovertible proof of the facts in evidence. Consequently, researchers on the Armenian Genocide, on a quest for an irrefutable "smoking gun," have tended to privilege authoritative sources such as archival documents from state repositories, like an Ottoman telegram with an explicit order, or reports of putatively objective European eyewitnesses.[18] Despite its merits, such an approach sidelines sources considered less authoritative, such as accounts by survivors, discounting them for being individual, subjective, or less than comprehensive. Consequently, the experience of the victims, and the traces survivors left in the form of memoirs, witness statements, or artwork, command less visibility than the voice of perpetrators and deniers—especially when the latter occupy positions of power and can mobilize state institutions and diplomacy in support of their view. When the voices of the genocide victims themselves are lost or unheard, even thoughtful genocide scholarship may have the effect of further silencing Armenians.

By contrast, making the effort to seek out and listen to Armenian sources allows access to the deepest levels of the experience of genocide. And it is indeed possible to find and decipher many different kinds of sources crafted by Armenians. They do not all speak in unison, not even in the same language. Sources appear in the dialects and vernaculars Armenians once spoke in the Ottoman provinces, as well as in Turkish and other languages. Collectively, however, these sources capture the agency of the very group that is often excluded from Armenian Genocide studies: Armenians themselves, the targets of violence, the victims, and the survivors. It is difficult not to be moved and humbled by the nature of these sources, their sheer volume, as well as their stubborn will to bear witness in spite of the systematic destruction and the lack of institutional or state support

for diaspora Armenians. And yet Armenians from all walks of life did in fact leave a wealth of documentation of their experience, even if much of it is little known and difficult to access. Illiterate or poorly educated survivors provided witness statements and filed petitions. They had their photographs taken. They registered themselves on lists. They told their stories. They composed poems and songs about their ordeal and lost homelands. As for Armenian intellectuals, they were exceptionally aware that the genocide constituted an unprecedented cataclysm for their people, and were compelled to document it. They wrote about their own experiences and registered those of others. They wrote down names, places, dates: facts. They took down testimonies. They compiled records, collected documents, and published them. Each of these acts of recording and testimony requires our utmost attention and utmost care in understanding the contexts of its production and dissemination. These acts show that the Armenian story is multiple, just as the Ottoman Armenians themselves were not a monolithic group. Their reactions and decisions in the face of genocide were similarly multiple. The voices of the survivors bring out the humanity and a sense of the agency of every being: those who resisted and those who did not, those who perished and those who held on through sheer luck and willpower. The sources also tell us something about the will to preserve and salvage works of art and sacred objects.

Culture and material objects play pivotal roles in survivors' narratives. Villagers clutched family Gospels and prayer scrolls as gendarmes herded them onto deportation caravans. Parents held on to the keys of ancestral homes even as they reached the end of the road in Der Zor and it dawned on them that they would never return alive. Children and young women torn from their families and forced into Muslim households as unpaid servants or concubines traced crosses and letters of the Armenian alphabet in the earth to remember their names and original identities. Islamized grandmothers strained to utter Armenian prayers on their deathbeds, stunning their Turkish

or Kurdish grandchildren. Accounts such as these allow us to comprehend what cultural and religious artifacts meant to Armenians at the very moment they experienced their own extermination, and how they revered the memory of such artifacts long after they were taken, lost, or destroyed.

GENOCIDE AND THE DESTRUCTION OF CULTURE

The destruction of architecture, art, and cultural heritage is part of the damage war and atrocity inflict. It is not merely collateral damage, but rather integral to conflict. History is replete with examples of opponents who intentionally destroy each other's god's images, temples, monuments, and palaces. When the Romans conquered Jerusalem they sacked it and destroyed the Temple in the year 70. Sometimes supporters of new religions or ideologies deemed it necessary to purge art, even in their own country. Think of the Pharaoh Akhenaten, who defaced Egypt's temples in his zeal to institute a new religion; or the Byzantine iconoclasts and the Protestant reformers who suppressed religious icons and ostentatious decorations in pursuit of greater piety. The French Revolution, for all its emphasis on the rights of man, including freedom of thought and religion, also spurred the violent desecration and dismemberment of art and architecture associated with the ancien régime and the Catholic Church.

In modern times, however, assaults on culture prompted outrage as people judged them barbaric and at odds with contemporary values. Twentieth-century warfare and ever-more sophisticated weapons destroyed or threatened to destroy the most celebrated cultural sites of humanity on an unprecedented scale and with lightning speed, just as mass media made it possible for news and images of the devastation to reach wider audiences. German troops shell the Cathedral of Reims in 1914. Stalin orders the demolition of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior in Moscow in 1931. The Nazis throw paintings

they call "degenerate art" onto bonfires before and during World War II. The Cultural Revolution in the People's Republic of China wreaks havoc on antiquities in its zeal to discard the old in favor of the new. Croats obliterate the iconic bridge of Mostar in 1993. The Taliban government of Afghanistan bombs the colossal Buddhas of Bamiyan in 2001.

During World War II the twin drives to destroy art and to save it came to the fore. Conflict raged between states that thought of themselves as thoroughly modern, within Europe, the heart of Western Civilization. The Allied military tasked a special unit with safeguarding historic and cultural monuments from the depredations of war. Known as the "Monuments Men," this handful helped save Europe's cultural heritage; their story became popular thanks to a 2014 Hollywood film starring George Clooney.[19] By contrast, during the war the Nazis implemented a program of art acquisition and confiscation that was unprecedented in its scale and in its coercive methods.[20]

In the wake of World War II, campaigns to ensure lasting peace through the respect of human rights, and efforts to protect cultural heritage gained momentum.[21] The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 under the auspices of the United Nations enshrined universal norms for human rights. Treaties and formalized legal instruments soon implemented and enforced these rights, including the freedom of expression, thought, and religion, the right to education, and the right to access cultural heritage. As the United Nations created a support system for cultural heritage internationally, it championed the idea of world heritage, where cultural examples of universal value are to be celebrated and enjoyed by all humans. This view treasures the diversity of humanity's cultural traditions and holds that any given cultural heritage site or object is the patrimony of all humans, not only of the state that has jurisdiction over it. As such, international norms ought to govern the protection, preservation, and management of cultural heritage. These ideals are

not beyond critique, however: their implementation has been imperfect; they are vulnerable to political pressures; they posit states as key actors; and even their concept of cultural heritage is freighted with problems.[22] Some have objected to narrow views of preservation. Scholars have even shown that the destruction of art and the deep history of iconoclasm have marked the evolution of modern art and prompted artists to grapple with the nature and power of monuments and to contest them.[23] Nevertheless, the creation and preservation of cultural heritage, and access to it, have come to be seen as a human right, inspiring legal instruments that form the international framework of norms and values regarding cultural heritage.

Jurists, scholars, and activists advocated for international norms for the protection of cultural heritage just as they sought to understand its reverse: the intentional destruction of culture. Notably, as early as 1933 the Polish Jewish jurist Raphael Lemkin theorized new categories of crime, namely the mass killing of a targeted social group, which he called "barbarism," and the deliberate devastation of the culture of that group, which he called "vandalism."[24] The link between the extermination of a group and the destruction of its culture still preoccupied Lemkin as he coined the term *genocide* to characterize the greatest crime of the modern age. Lemkin and other scholars of the genocidal process saw the correlation between acts of violence—mass murder, torture, and rape, the destruction and theft of property, the desecration of religious sites—and the destruction of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide that the United Nations General Assembly adopted in 1948 did not include the destruction of culture among the acts listed in its definition of genocide. Consequently, the destruction of culture remains one of the less understood aspects of genocide. And even though the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted just a day later, includes cultural rights, in practice they are treated as a poor relative of political and economic rights. In sum, despite the fact that the destruction

of culture was central to the conceptualization of genocide, it was relegated to the back burner when the crime was formally defined.[25]

The 1948 Convention proscribed genocide, yet genocidal acts occurred again and included assaults on culture. Over time, even though the Genocide Convention refrained from enshrining the destruction of culture in its definition, the term *cultural genocide* gained currency. In an example from 2015, the term appeared in Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission report on the government's forced removal of indigenous children from families and their placement in the infamous residential school program, which disrupted the transmission of culture within family units.[26] Indigenous communities have suffered the loss of their sacred objects and material culture and even the violation of burials and removal of human remains since the beginning of European colonization. Painstaking activism finally resulted in the passing of the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in the United States. Mandating protections for Native American cultural heritage and prescribing the repatriation of certain items to the tribes from which they originated, NAGPRA marks a tremendous step forward, yet its scope and implementation leave much to be desired.[27]

Nonetheless, attacks on culture continue in spite of legislation to prevent and punish them. Furthermore, obtaining justice for previous crimes against culture continues to prove daunting. Take the example of Nazi-looted art. In the war's aftermath the Allies found much of it and returned it. Yet a significant amount of art and other valuables disappeared from view, destroyed, hidden, or surreptitiously traded. Since then, Holocaust-looted artworks have turned up in private and public collections, and caches of looted artwork continue to surface in unexpected places.[28] Public awareness has grown about the crimes against culture that are now recognized as an integral part of the Nazi genocide of Europe's Jews. Yet Holocaust victims and heirs seeking to recover looted artworks long faced an uphill battle, despite the sustained efforts of activists, legislators,

and attorneys. A case that captured the public imagination features Maria Altmann, a Los Angeles retiree, who sued to recover from the Austrian National Gallery five paintings by the artist Gustav Klimt, which the Nazis had stolen from her family in Vienna. Altmann and her attorney undertook years of thankless litigation, all the way to the United States Supreme Court, where she prevailed in 2005 and later obtained justice at long last.[29] *Altmann v. Republic of Austria* was dramatized in the 2015 film *The Woman in Gold*, starring Helen Mirren. The most haunting of the restituted paintings features Altmann's aunt, the "woman in gold" of the film's title. The *Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I* by Klimt (1907) was eventually sold for a reported $135 million, the highest sum ever paid for a painting at the time.[30]

These legislative and courtroom victories involving artworks of high value prompted museums and public collections to contend with restitution and repatriation claims in many different forms, albeit reluctantly. These claims unveiled the careless ethics that had long characterized acquisition practices. For example, as recently as 1993 Thomas Hoving, the celebrated former director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, unrepentantly recounted purchasing the ancient Greek vase known as the Euphronios Krater in 1972. He admitted that he knew the object had been illegally excavated and smuggled, in a chapter of his memoir cheekily entitled "The Hot Pot."[31] When he persuaded the museum's board of directors to acquire the Krater, Hoving told them as little as possible about the object's provenance, leaving its origin in theft thinly disguised. Nevertheless, by the late twentieth century, public opinion had turned firmly against the major museums' unjust acquisition of cultural materials and their disregard for the rights of others. The cavalier attitude and actions of curators like Hoving had grown out of step with public sensibility as well as the law. In 2008 the Met was compelled to return the Euphronios Krater to its source country, Italy.[32] In the same year, after long deliberation, the Association of Art Museum Directors updated their official guidelines for collecting, instituting

stricter criteria for the acquisition of objects. It marked a tremendous policy shift among museum professionals.

The contest between communities and powerful institutions for control over cultural patrimony, the resultant friction between the goals of museums and the claims of indigenous and faith-based groups and source countries, have become hallmarks of twenty-first-century art history. Here cultural heritage intersects with civil and human rights, art meets the law, and all of these tensions impact the global art trade—both the legal art world and the shadowy black market. The lawsuit over the Canon Tables opposes a small religious community, the Armenian Church, to a wealthy and powerful museum, the Getty, and emerges out of this protracted history of struggle over patrimony.

Nevertheless, the changed climate in the public discussion of restitution and repatriation in no way indicates that a consensus has taken hold and that all rightful claims will be honored. While public institutions like museums are today hard-pressed to justify some of their prior practices, discreet private collections can still evade scrutiny. Moreover, those who defend the collecting of antiquities by Western institutions continue to resist the shift of museum policies toward accommodating aspects of restitution claims. One of the most prominent and vocal opponents of restitution, James Cuno, is the president and CEO of the J. Paul Getty Trust, the parent of the very institution that houses the Canon Tables and scores of other disputed artworks.

An art historian, curator, and highly successful museum director, Cuno articulates his views eloquently and frequently. The publication of his 2008 book, *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage,* ironically coincided with the Museum Directors' stricter new guidelines.[33] Cuno staunchly defends the collection of antiquities by the "encyclopedic art museum," like the British Museum. For him, such an institution exhibits the arts of all cultures in order to educate the public and convey "cosmopolitan" values. As

an heir of the Enlightenment, the encyclopedic museum is above politics and is instead dedicated to fostering liberal thought, learning, and tolerance. This view holds antiquities to be the common heritage of all humans and objects to contemporary states' legal assertion of exclusive ownership of them. Cuno balks at source countries' propensity to protect their own cultural heritage according to established legislation, and argues that it reflects a "nationalist retentionist mindset." When Italy, for example, insists on enforcing its own laws as well as international norms of cultural heritage protection by lodging claims for the repatriation of illegally exported antiquities, Cuno views such actions as "nationalistic" and politically motivated.[34]

Art historians, archaeologists, and critics have vehemently objected to Cuno's views.[35] They see his polemic as a latter-day defense of an outmoded, traditional conception of the primacy of Western institutions over the rest of the world.[36] They criticize Cuno's usage of well-regarded ideas such as universal heritage or cosmopolitanism without acknowledging the freighted history of colonialism, power relations, or illegal activity that surrounds the piratical collection practices of the past.[37] They challenge Cuno's assertion that the paradigmatic art museum is ideologically or politically neutral as they recall the British Museum's imperial and colonial history. Indeed, Cuno's argument ignores the modern heritage of colonialism, imperialism, and exploitation that burdens art institutions. Moreover, his argument leaves out any mention of the unequal relationships of power that adhere to any transaction between the prosperous countries where antiquities-hungry Western museums reside, and the source countries whence antiquities are extracted. It overlooks the power of money and of the legal and illegal art market that can turn artworks into exploitable commodities. Even further, Cuno's argument either ignores or demonstrates contempt for laws (of other countries as well as the United States), for international treaties and agreements, of basic property rights, and of certain cultural rights.

Tellingly, it redirects the argument from a battle over ownership of art objects to a disagreement over "stewardship."[38] This emphasis privileges the care and preservation of art objects by museums above claims of proprietorship by source countries or indigenous groups. Further, the defense of antiquities acquired "no matter what" fails to mention that many of these antiquities were illegally excavated or stolen and trafficked by criminal networks before being sold to Western museums, as in the case of the Euphronios Krater at the Met, or the statue of Aphrodite from Morgantina in Sicily, which the Getty returned to Italy.[39] Associating with such criminal networks and enriching them hardly seems the "cosmopolitan" thing to do.

The controversy Cuno's views generated evidently had no bearing on the continued ascent of his career in leading important museums. Tellingly, his point of view remains influential at the precise moment when museums commit to a more conciliatory approach toward claims. While the debate over cultural heritage has evolved dramatically over the last decade, it remains a battleground.

ART OBJECTS DURING AND AFTER GENOCIDE

A treasured artwork, the image of a deity, or a holy book is a material entity launched into a web of social relationships. When people loot an object, break it, or uproot it, these experiences affect the way an object exists in the social world, and the meaning it accrues in the minds and hearts of those who view it, revere it, or adore it.[40]

Think of such objects caught in great historical upheavals, especially in genocide. The best-known examples of Nazi-looted art are masterpieces of European art that distinguished Jewish collectors commissioned or owned, like Klimt's portraits of Adele Bloch-Bauer. Consider now another dimension of the Nazi destruction of Jewish communities and their culture: the less famous piles of liturgical objects and Torah scrolls through which the Jews of Europe once constructed their identity in daily life.[41] The Nazis confiscated them

and stored them in disorderly piles while they loaded their owners onto overcrowded trains toward death camps. Here the confiscation of the art accompanied the murder of those who made and used the art objects. These objects may not hold a prominent place in the history of art, but they experienced genocide and survived. They acquired the power to recall the horror of genocide, to recollect the absent persons and objects that the Holocaust consumed. They symbolize violence but also survival and resilience. They are *survivor objects*.[42]

The Zeytun Gospels is a survivor object. It is a devotional item as well as a work of art. It experienced the Armenian Genocide and bears the marks of its violence. It came across individuals who removed it from its place of origin, cleaved it into two, folded it, and creased it. In turn, the holy book enthralled individuals who worshipped it, coveted it, treasured it, and wrote about it. Like other survivor objects, the Zeytun Gospels mediated the way in which individuals perceived their own identities or reconstructed them in the wake of war, massacre, and exile.

A handwritten note on the margin of a manuscript similar to the Zeytun Gospels elucidates how individuals interacted with survivor objects as an act of survival. In 1923 then-bishop Papken Guleserian (1868–1936) traveled from his parish in New York to conduct a survey of the shantytowns at the edges of Syrian and Lebanese cities where Armenian survivors huddled. Following his visit to the refugee camps outside of Aleppo, the scholarly bishop immersed himself in the library of the Armenian Church of the Forty Martyrs. There he chanced upon a venerable medieval manuscript of great historical and religious importance. It was a breviary, containing prayers and readings for daily devotion, created in 1319 for an Armenian king. The bishop found it in a damaged state akin to a "burned and looted palace."[43] The bishop was moved to take the solemn step of adding a colophon, or notation, to the medieval manuscript. He wrote:

> I came from America to Aleppo, passing through central Europe, Egypt, Jerusalem, the cities of Palestine and Syria, in order to see for myself and examine the situation of my people bereft of their homeland and of the thousands of orphans. I saw the miserable state of the refugees, the flocks of thousands of orphans from Jerusalem, Beirut, [Mount] Lebanon, and Aleppo. Among the cares of my mind and heart I took the time to study the manuscripts of the Forty Martyrs' Church in Aleppo, more than 150 volumes, which, all of them, like our Armenian Nation have been ruthlessly persecuted, cut up, violated. I found among them this book. . . . Truly it is a work worthy of a king. But despicable hands have committed crimes upon it that cannot be expiated and cannot be restored. I begged the authorities to send all the manuscripts to Jerusalem, to the St. James Library [of the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem], where thousands of similar manuscripts have been gathered, . . . all that which has escaped and survived the corrosive effects of time, and the destructive and disruptive [effects of] . . . fanaticism.[44]

Adding a colophon to an ancient manuscript constituted a solemn and momentous act that marked changes of ownership or recorded events of great historical or religious importance. The bishop's note commemorated a watershed event in the history of his people: the almost complete eradication of the Armenians from their ancestral homelands. He witnessed the extent of the loss on his tour of the refugee camps, hovels, shantytowns, and orphanages on the outskirts of large cities in the Middle East and eastern Europe, where remnants of the Armenian communities of Anatolia were trying to survive, at the mercy of the elements, of the charity of others, and by pulling themselves up by what remained of their own ingenuity and resources. The bishop's colophon expressed his despair over so much suffering and destruction. The colophon also reveals that the bishop conflated his roles as a witness to and a chronicler of the tragedy, with his role as a keeper of his people's

sacred books. Moreover, he equated Armenian religious manuscripts with the Armenian community itself. His description of survivors and orphans, diminished by their experience of atrocity, parallels his description of the manuscripts: "volumes, which, all of them, like our Armenian Nation have been ruthlessly persecuted, cut up, violated." He conceived of the exile of the refugees and the dispersion of the manuscripts in the same terms. What was once a work of art and a sacred object fit for a king had been irreversibly damaged: "despicable hands have committed crimes upon it that cannot be expiated and cannot be restored." Without question, for the bishop, what remained must be cared for and preserved. Like the orphans who must be saved, the manuscripts ought to be gathered in an appropriate place, in this case the library in Jerusalem.

The bishop saw the illuminated manuscripts as survivors, just like the thousands of orphans he met, and like them deserving of preservation and salvation. He explicitly equates the destruction of the Armenian community with the destruction of art, especially precious religious manuscripts. The bishop's understanding of religious art appears again and again in the accounts of witnesses and survivors. A man who narrowly survived the slaughter of his community and the burning of his neighborhood conflated his experience with the holy book's: "The [Zeytun] Gospels . . . became an eyewitness to that terrifying massacre."[45]

As the Armenian Apostolic Church is a national church rather than a large multiethnic denomination like the Catholic Church, the faith and the people closely identify with each other. Armenians perceived precious religious objects like the Zeytun Gospels as essential symbols of their community and faith rather than primarily as art objects prized for their aesthetic qualities. A priest wrote of his distress at seeing a holy book he had consulted in a church treasury just before World War I suddenly appear on the art market in New York: "Now that manuscript has arrived in America as the property of a private person. . . . It has been brought here to be sold."[46] This

insight explains why Ottoman Armenians took such terrible risks to rescue works of art during the genocide, particularly religious manuscripts. They tried to save holy books during the deportations, even when human lives were in the balance. For years thereafter, they tried to find, ransom, and save sacred objects. This insight also clarifies what the rare objects that have survived the genocide, like the Zeytun Gospels, have come to mean to Armenians, and the special place they have come to occupy in the remembrance and commemoration of the genocide.

The biography of the Zeytun Gospels told in this book is based on sources like the bishop's note in a variety of languages, genres, and forms. It includes medieval works of art and colophons, as well as modern works of art; archival documents; published books and newspapers; documents filed in legal proceedings. Any research on the cultural heritage of Ottoman Armenians is hampered by the vicissitudes faced by that community. Documentation of Ottoman Armenian life and archives of the community and its institutions are fragmentary, dispersed, and difficult to access. Research on works of art that survived the Armenian Genocide requires great ingenuity and experience in tracking sources and making connections, a painstaking kind of historical detective work. The researcher encounters dead ends, where information proves to be impossible to obtain. In the case of the Zeytun Gospels, surprisingly—some might say miraculously—a trail exists that allows one to retrace the movements of this object, both fragment and whole, over the course of the twentieth century, even if all of its mysteries cannot be fully elucidated.

Today Armenians are fiercely devoted to survivor objects, especially religious manuscripts. The descendants of genocide survivors tell and retell the stories of holy books, and every recitation grows more magical and awe-inspiring. Such a sensibility permeates the Italian Armenian Antonia Arslan's 2012 novel, *Il Libro di Mush*, which recounts the saga of the famous Homilarium of Mush, rescued at great risk by two women following the destruction of the

monastery in whose treasury it had long resided.[47] Objects like the Zeytun Gospels that so powerfully conjure Armenian art and religious practice remain critically important to Armenian communities around the world. The lawsuit of the Western Prelacy against the Getty Museum conveys something of this importance and this urgency. Such objects are not only valuable works of art in and of themselves; they are also significant as rare objects from a lost world, around which Armenian communities today construct their own distinctive identity and sense of history.

As a survivor object the Canon Tables is part of the material culture of the trauma of the Armenian Genocide, and of survival. In addition to its beauty and artistic qualities, the Canon Tables has the power to connect the present to the past: not only to the medieval moment of its creation but to the terrible rupture of the genocide. The Zeytun Gospels witnessed the genocide and survived it, bearing its marks. The manuscript speaks of survival, and it also speaks of those who are dead.

As communities reclaim and reconstruct their heritage after trauma, complex historical processes fraught with negotiation and contestation unfold. Although often presented as self-evident, constant, and ancient, cultural heritage is always in the process of being created. It puts on display objects from the past to craft narratives and experiences in the present. In particular, the objects that constitute the cultural heritage of traumatized communities place special responsibilities upon their caretakers and viewers. They call for a particular ethics in the understanding and respect of the objects' traumatic history in addition to their aesthetic qualities. Works of art caught in extreme historical circumstances such as war, mass violence, and genocide do not emerge unscathed from such experiences. Their physical integrity may be altered forever, just like the burdens of signification that they bear. The Zeytun Gospels in Yerevan and the Canon Tables in Los Angeles are survivors bearing the scars of genocidal violence. The horizontal crease is the Canon Tables' scar,

as is its separation from the mother manuscript. The history of violence and survival adds a critical dimension to the life of such objects.

The journey of the Zeytun Gospels is unique, yet it is emblematic of the fate of Armenian cultural heritage since 1915. Through a series of fortuitous events, tragedy, sheer luck, and coincidences, a single work of art was caught up in larger phenomena: waves of refugees and population exchanges; the disintegration of empires and the formation of new states; movements of individuals and groups, including immigration to America; the art world and the art market; the rise of large American museums and their drive to collect the world's antiquities; a community's determination to survive; and the dynamics of cultural activism and art litigation.

The tortuous global journey of the Zeytun Gospels since its creation, and particularly since 1915, structures this book. Each chapter focuses on a place, event, personality, or process that illuminates both the manuscript and broader issues of cultural heritage. The book follows the art object in its mobility. The reader journeys in the manuscript's footsteps through seven centuries, from Hromkla, where it was created, to Zeytun, Marash, Aleppo, New York, Yerevan, and Los Angeles.

The manuscript's story sheds light on the intimate connection between the extermination of communities and the destruction of their culture. It also shows the centrality of material culture to the survival as well as the revival of postgenocide Armenian communities in the Middle East, the Republic of Armenia, and the United States. These processes may pit survivor communities against authoritative institutions like museums, raising issues about the human right to culture and making a profound impact on the art market. Conflicts over cultural property, lawsuits and legal documents, as well as the public debates that they provoke are meaningful above and beyond their role in legal proceedings. The lawsuit over the Gospels forms the latest phase of a movement to reclaim Armenian cultural heritage from the ashes of the genocide.

This book takes this lawsuit and the biography of the Zeytun Gospels as points of entry in exploring how contests over art objects are framed, what cultural heritage signifies to survivor communities, and how institutions like museums curate and display works of art with little reference to their painful histories. The fact that one of the last vestiges of a forgotten Anatolian mountain town has connected with contemporary American law, cultural activism, and museum politics evidences the continued relevance of cultural heritage. Moreover, these debates, acts of remembering and obliterating, and the struggles of communities to define themselves through art in the absence of a homeland inform larger discussions about cultural heritage as a human right, especially during conflict, and how critical the recovery of that culture can be to questions of restorative justice and reconciliation.

The destruction of art, the looting of artifacts and their trafficking by criminal networks, as well as contests over the ownership, function, and meaning of art continue to mark our present moment. European museums display, and auction houses put up for sale, objects that Native Americans consider sacred or sentient, and which incorporate human remains: a shrunken head from Peru, a Lakota war shirt featuring human hair, and Hopi Katsina Friends.[48] The self-proclaimed Islamic State blows up the Temple of Bel in Palmyra after gruesomely murdering an archaeologist. Its operatives turn the destruction of art into mass spectacle. They film the mutilation of art and edit it into highly curated videos that they disseminate through their sophisticated propaganda network, amplified through social media, manipulating public perception and instilling outrage and terror.[49] The wealthiest people in the world resort to opaque financial acrobatics involving offshore businesses and shell companies to conduct a semilegal or illegal trade in art that evades scrutiny and confuses restitution claims, as the Panama Papers have revealed.[50]

Stories about the destruction of art or the restitution of cultural heritage often highlight the zealous breakers of images, opportunis-

tic looters, daring thieves, clever accountants, courageous archaeologists, dedicated journalists, honest policemen, resilient librarians, undaunted art historians, acquisitive collectors, careful curators, uncaring oligarchs, and heroic lawyers. My focus instead is on the object and its people.

This book tells the story of a work of art caught in extraordinary historical circumstances; of the people and groups who possessed it, lost, stole, purchased, bartered, saved, and sundered it; and of those who preserved it, studied it, curated it, displayed, and contemplated it. It traces a medieval manuscript's modern history and of the webs of relationships, emotions, deeds and misdeeds, and pious, sacrilegious, rapacious, and creative acts that unfolded around it. Over its long life the Zeytun Gospels fulfilled multiple functions. Created as an act of devotion, it also played the roles of liturgical object, luxury product, treasure, heirloom, talisman, historic monument, and finally, work of art. Separated from the mother manuscript, the Canon Tables fulfills all these functions as well. Above all, as survivor objects the manuscript and the fragment exemplify the ever-changing, dynamic nature of cultural heritage.

Chapter 2

HROMKLA

The God-Protected Castle of Priests and Artists

• HROMKLA. THE SCRIPTORIUM OF THE CASTLE. 1256.

A scribe hunched over his work.

A Gospels book nearly completed.

He had poured his soul into his work. He had turned the sacred words into calligraphy page after page. Now God's words glinted in the dim light, written in gold, jet-black ink, and colors like jewels. He had painted the Evangelists inscribing in heavy tomes, set before backgrounds of pure uninterrupted gold. He had labored over fields of ornaments laid out like carpets. At the book's very beginning, among the Canon Tables, he had scattered animals in pairs, had hidden human faces, pious reminders of God's law, and an homage to his teacher. His patron, the Catholicos, had spared no expense, giving him the most luxurious materials, the most beautiful pigments, and fine parchment. He thanked God for his generosity and grace.

Now he wrote out the colophon. He praised his great and powerful patron. He inscribed the names of the Catholicos's blessed parents, his nephews and their spouses, and those who had served the kingdom as priests and as military men. He was permitted to include his own name at the end. So he signed humbly, "Toros, surname Roslin, after my forebears."

He sent the manuscript to the binders.

. . .

Toros Roslin copied and illuminated the Zeytun Gospels in a scriptorium at a place he called "the God-protected castle."[1] In medieval times, Armenians called it Hromkla, Arabs called it Qalᶜat al-Rum,

and Turks called it Rum Kalesi. It sat on top of a massive rock on the right bank of the Euphrates River at its westernmost bend. Naturally fortified, strategically located, Hromkla's history of human occupation was already long when it became the seat of the Armenian Catholicos around 1148.[2] The center of the religion that unified disparate Armenian communities and legitimized the Kingdom of Cilicia, it was nevertheless located outside it in an enclave within the Crusader county of Edessa. For a century and a half, Hromkla was at once fortress and monastery, center of power and repository of holy relics, military outpost and artistic hub.

CULTURAL FLOWS AND MILITARY INCURSIONS

Cilicia is the name given since antiquity to the south coastal region of Asia Minor at the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea. Rivers like the Seyhan and Jeyhan irrigate a fertile, flat alluvial plain. The Amanus Mountains separate it from Syria, and the Taurus Mountains divide it from Anatolia. The mountains encircle and protect the plain, limiting access to it to a handful of passes, some barely practicable in winter, like the famous Cilician Gates to the northwest. In the mountain strongholds, castles perched on inaccessible crags. The arable lands of the plain and its navigable rivers supported large cities like Tarsus. Trade routes extended from inland paths to ports on the Mediterranean.

Since the earliest periods of human history, civilizations flourished in Cilicia, supported by its productive agricultural lands. They communicated with other societies through Cilicia's openness to the sea and connections to inland routes. It was also a strategic territory where regional and global conflicts played out. The Byzantine Empire dominated Cilicia in the mid-tenth century when Armenian communities began to settle, pushing westward from the Armenian plateau. By the end of the eleventh century, the Seljuks, a Turkic dynasty that adhered to Sunni Islam, wrested control of Anatolia from Byzantine

and Armenian rulers and established a sultanate over much of Asia Minor. The Seljuks captured the Armenian capital Ani (today on the Turkish-Armenian border), the City of the 1001 Churches, where the kings of the Bagratid dynasty had reaped profit from trade routes on the Silk Road and built monumental churches, palaces, and ramparts. As the Bagratids fell, displaced chieftains of the Armenian highlands migrated across the Taurus Mountains into Byzantine Cilicia. There they exerted pressure over the already established vassals of Constantinople.[3] Some lords from Greater Armenia successfully set themselves up in castles and seized territory. Among them, Ruben established a principality in Cilicia's northeastern mountains in 1080, while Basil the Brigand created a brilliant but short-lived domain further east that included Hromkla for a time. Basil's rule proved ephemeral, while Ruben's left an indelible imprint on Armenian history.

Medieval society in Anatolia and Cilicia faced near-constant tumult and strife, interrupted by brief periods of stability and prosperity. In this environment, identities were fluid, frontiers were in flux, and mobility formed part of experience.[4] Hromkla exemplified this. It formed the heart of the Armenian Church yet was located outside both the Armenian plateau and the territory of Cilicia's Armenian lords. Merchants, pilgrims, warriors, and chieftains journeyed on the mountain trails and valley roads that connected fortresses, monasteries, and cities to temporary encampments, fairs, and caravanserais. The Armenian rulers of Cilicia were at the nexus of these movements. The cultural and dynastic interconnections became inscribed on their family trees, in their political alliances, in their dynastic marriages, as well as their diplomatic journeys and commercial interactions with points east and west.

The Crusaders began to arrive from Europe after 1097. They competed with the Armenian lords from Anatolia, as well as Byzantine officials of Armenian origin, in a scramble for lands and power. At the beginning, Armenian chieftains saw the Crusaders as an opportunity to tip the balance of regional forces in their favor, and

forged alliances. However, Armenian-Crusader conviviality became strained as soon as the interests of the parties began to clash.[5] By the early twelfth century a division of power had taken place: Armenians dominated Cilicia, while the Franks controlled northern Syria.[6]

Among the Armenians, two rival clans came to dominate the politics of Cilicia by the late eleventh century: Ruben's descendants, the Rubenians, with their stronghold at Vahka in the east, and the Hetumians at their castle of Lambron in the west.[7] Both clans competed against the local power brokers such as the Crusader states, rival Armenian lords, and regional powers such as the Byzantine Empire with its capital in Constantinople. They also fought off intermittent incursions by the Seljuks from their capital in Konya, and by the Islamic rulers of Cairo, the Fatimids, then the Ayyubids.

The Catholicos, the head of the Armenian Church, was a power broker in his own right as well as a spiritual leader. In the mid-twelfth century the Catholicos transferred his see to the militarily strategic Hromkla when his previous seat became too difficult to defend against intermittent incursions.[8] He purchased the fortress from the Frankish Counts of Edessa.[9] Hromkla thus became an Armenian enclave within a Crusader state, just to the east of Cilicia.

Until its sack in 1292 Hromkla served as the religious center of the Armenian Church. It was also the fief of the head of the church, the Catholicos, who acted as a spiritual leader as well as the secular lord of a territory. This dual role finds an echo in the title medieval Arabic sources gave the Catholicos, *khalifat al-arman*, that is, the "Caliph of the Armenians." This Arabic title, from which the English "caliph" is derived, combines spiritual authority with temporal power. A village near the fortress bore the name of Khalifi, indicating its affiliation to the *khalifa*.[10] It probably constitutes the origin of the name Halfeti, the contemporary town near the now-ruined castle.

Located at the confluence of trade and diplomatic routes, Hromkla attracted diverse types of people, goods, and ideas. As a center of religious administration and learning, Hromkla also became a place

that attracted priests, poets, and artists with its generous patronage of the arts. Medieval chronicles as well as rare surviving objects, such as lamps made of gold and silver and adorned with pearls and precious stones, give some sense of the magnificence of the furnishings and liturgical objects that must have existed at Hromkla.[11] In addition, the Catholicos moved the wealth of the Armenian Church to the monastery-fortress with its libraries of rare manuscripts and its sacred treasures. Among the most prized of these were the relics of the apostles of Christ who had preached the Gospel among Armenians, as well as one of the most important objects associated with the patriarchal office, the relic of the Right Arm of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, the founder of the Armenian Church.

Ten Catholicoi succeeded each other at Hromkla. Over the course of one and a half centuries, they endowed the fortress with military and religious constructions. The citadel ramparts' monumental towers and gates followed the contours of the massive rock on which the fortress rested. At least three large churches were constructed, along with residential buildings, storerooms, and reservoirs. One of the most impressive remains at Hromkla is a monumental square structure in the upper part of the citadel that faces the Euphrates, which may have been the lower story of one of the original churches. Constructed in the second half of the twelfth century, the meticulously carved structure features courses of rusticated stone at its base, surmounted by a smooth polished façade.[12] A single a horizontal register bisects the façade, anchored by two *khachkar*s, "cross-stones" or stelae bearing crosses, set within intricately carved frames. The remains of the carved panels still show trefoil emblems at their base, indicating that they bore Armenian crosses. The Armenian cross is one without the figure of Christ, in which floral motifs branch out of the four arms, signifying the origin of life and salvation in Christ. Above the crosses, fragments remain of inscriptions that originally spelled *Hs. Ks.*, the Armenian abbreviation for Jesus Christ. The crosses surmounted symbolic animal figures—a pair of chained lions on the left-

hand side, and on the right an eagle with its wings outstretched, the tips pointing downward—exquisite examples of the kind of virtuoso stone carving for which the region's stonemasons were renowned.

While religious power coalesced in Hromkla, secular power also entered a period of consolidation. The Armenian polity in Cilicia was becoming a kingdom. In this fluid geopolitical landscape, one of Ruben's descendants took the helm as Prince Levon II in 1187, shortly before the Third Crusade. A political genius, he capitalized on the Byzantine-Seljuk rivalry and the devastation of the Crusader states at the hands of Sultan Saladin of the Ayyubids. In the ensuing power vacuum, Levon pushed his economic advantage by granting trading privileges in Cilician ports to the Genoese and the Venetians, and his political advantage by bringing many of Cilicia's chieftains under his sway. He even made overtures to the Pope, one of the most powerful rulers of the time, and considered accepting the primacy of the Roman Catholic Church over the independent Armenian Apostolic Church.[13] Prince Levon II had himself crowned King Levon I of the Armenians by a papal legate as well as the Armenian Catholicos on Armenian Christmas, January 6, 1197, in Tarsus. Royal gifts from the Byzantine emperor, the Holy Roman emperor, as well as Greek and Frankish dignitaries further validated his coronation. Cilician Armenia had become a kingdom.

Under Levon I, known as the Magnificent (*Medzakordz*), Cilicia was a crossroads. Its far-flung commercial and cultural ties paved the way for artistic ideas to circulate between Europe and the Middle East and East Asia. Levon supported long-distance trade, as land routes from Central Asia and sea routes from the Mediterranean brought goods to be exchanged. He transformed the court, modeling it after Frankish customs. Latin titles and rituals replaced Old Armenian ones, and the Armenian social hierarchy blended with Western feudalism, further emphasizing the central power of the king.[14]

Some social and cultural boundaries were porous. The ruling families of Cilicia intermarried principally with the Byzantines and

the Crusaders. Some nobles joined brotherhoods like the Templars, while some chieftains converted to Islam and forged alliances with the sultans of Aleppo.[15] Beyond Cilicia, there were Byzantine Armenians at court in Constantinople, Muslim Armenians at the Fatimid capital in Cairo, and of course Armenian communities persisted in the Armenian heartland in Anatolia.[16] Medieval observers reflected on these intense contacts, as Armenians left their mark in chronicles by Crusaders and medieval Islamic writers. And yet this openness was also predicated on the constant reinvention and redefinition of boundaries. Thus, when Levon called himself King of the Armenians, he drew upon the long tradition of Armenian culture from Anatolia. Chroniclers emphasized the Rubenians' descent from the last kings of Ani and derived legitimacy from the past glory of the Bagratid dynasty from the Armenian heartland.

When Levon I died at the end of a brilliant twenty-two-year reign in 1219, he left no male heir. The fate of the nascent kingdom seemed to be up for grabs among courtly factions and regional powers. His young daughter Zabel (or Isabella, born 1216 or 1217) ascended the throne, while Constantine, head of the rival house of Lambron, became regent. Constantine first brokered Zabel's marriage with a Crusader lord from Antioch. The new king failed to win over the powerful factions at court and died, perhaps murdered by Constantine. The regent then married the queen to his own son, Hetum, in 1226. The two rival clans of Armenian nobility in Cilicia were thus united.

The young queen staunchly opposed her second marriage. Nevertheless, following the wedding and Hetum's coronation as King of the Armenians, whatever inner turmoil the royal couple faced, they presented a smooth, glittering façade to the world. They struck coins that portray the king and queen standing, holding between them a staff topped with a cross. Queen Zabel gave birth to at least six children. The princesses were all destined to make diplomatic marriages and strengthen the family's alliances. The princes, Levon and Toros,

were groomed for military careers and eventual succession to the throne.

The royal court's strong alliance with the Armenian Apostolic Church was reinforced with the election of a retainer of Hetum's family as Catholicos, the enlightened and energetic Constantine of Partzrpert.[17] Constantine's long reign from 1221 to 1267 paralleled Hetum's. The chronicler Gregory of Akner highlighted the bond between the two leaders, phrasing it in terms of piety and devotion to a common cause in the service of God: "Lord Kostandin through brilliant and virtuous behavior pleasing to God and man, together with the Christ-crowned king, Hetum, with orthodox faith and glowing arrangements illuminated all the churches of the Armenians, in the east, west, and everywhere."[18] Catholicos Constantine was a bibliophile who assembled a renowned library at his seat in Hromkla. He also sponsored an active scriptorium where craftsmen and artists worked collectively to produce manuscripts and luxury books for members of the clergy, the royal family, and the nobility, ushering in a brilliant period of the art of illumination.[19] Their considerable output combined long-standing Armenian cultural traditions with innovations drawing on ideas Crusaders brought from Europe, on Islamic art, and even on Chinese influence.[20] The critical mass of artists and craftsmen at Hromkla also made it a center for the study and transmission of illumination and calligraphy. Constantine's patronage attracted gifted artists and craftsmen to his castle on the Euphrates. One of them, Hohannes, was an illuminator who also trained junior artists. A Gospels he illuminated in 1253 is preserved today at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington.[21]

King Hetum maintained his predecessor's openness to the world. Constantly shifting power dynamics marked the Cilicians' engagement with their neighbors. Strategic forts turned into bones of contention, taken and retaken many times. A coin Hetum struck in 1241 bears witness to the complex identities of the period. One side depicts a horseman, captioned "Hetum, King of the Armenians"

in Armenian script. The reverse bears an Arabic inscription in the name of the Seljuk sultan. The coin's two faces thus show two rulers, in turn allies and enemies, each with an inscription in the language of his religion. The coin constituted a visual message that hinted simultaneously at their opposition (literally on two sides of a coin) and their entangled fates. The official public identities depicted on the coin matched even more fluid private identities; indeed, the sultan, Kaykhusraw II, was the son of a Christian, possibly Armenian, mother, and the husband of a Georgian noblewoman.[22] In turn, Hetum brokered alliances between his family and contemporary dynasties. While he privileged intermarriages between Armenians and Crusader nobles, alliances between Armenians and Muslim rulers also took place.[23]

As the middle of the thirteenth century loomed, redoubtable new players entered the scene: the Mongols.[24] Genghis Khan's vision of world conquest impelled them to stage incursions from Central Asia into both the East and the West. Drawing ever closer to Cilicia, they conquered Georgia and the Armenian heartland; just two years after the bilingual coin was minted, they defeated the Seljuks and turned them into vassals. Hetum, recognizing the magnitude of the threat posed by the rising power of the Mongols, sought to preemptively ally himself with them rather than suffer the devastation the Mongols inflicted in the wake of their conquests. He pursued an assiduous diplomacy, first sending his brother, the Constable Sempad, as an ambassador to the Mongol capital of Karakorum in 1247. Three years later, Sempad returned; he had negotiated an agreement and bore gifts, including a Mongol noblewoman, the eventual mother of his son, known as "Tatar Vasil" (Basil the Mongol).

The alliance was so critical that the king himself undertook the arduous journey from Cilicia to Karakorum to meet with the Great Khan Möngke (r. 1251–59). Hetum not only saw the alliance as a means to preserve his kingdom and to obtain protection for all Christians under Mongol rule, but he also envisioned a broader federation

of Christian states in the Levant with the Mongols that would eventually take the Holy Land away from Islamic rule. Möngke cemented their alliance with gifts and by exempting Armenian churches and monasteries in Mongol-held territories from paying taxes. This "shuttle diplomacy" between the Armenians and the Mongols ensured the Armenian Kingdom's survival as long as it paid tribute and lent support to the Mongol Empire. Catholicos Constantine, echoing the king's policy, exhorted the Armenians in Cilicia as well as Anatolia to accept Mongol dominion in spite of its harsh and punitive nature.[25] Armenians were keenly aware of the tenuous and unequal nature of their Mongol alliance. Medieval Armenian chroniclers, who called the Mongols the "Nation of Archers," viewed them as the destructive force that precedes the end of times foretold in prophecy.[26]

Hetum's return journey from Central Asia in 1256 took him through Anatolia, the great Armenian heartland. The king visited the cities, forts, and holy sites of medieval Armenia, the mother country where his sovereignty did not extend, and he met with Armenian communities under the dominion of Islamic rulers. The center of gravity of Armenian political power had moved to Cilicia, where powerful patrons supported the arts and ensured the continuation and innovation of manuscript painting. In the same year, 1256, Toros Roslin recorded that "the Christ-crowned and pious King Hetum . . . returned from the great and arduous journey to the Great Khan," as he completed the illumination of a Gospels for the Catholicos Constantine's personal use; the artist thus entered history by signing his name on the manuscript now known as the Zeytun Gospels.[27] This book is Toros Roslin's first known work. Roslin must have received his training from Hohannes at Hromkla, as he pays homage to his teacher's painting style and iconography throughout this first work, and especially in its canon tables. This manuscript's illuminations point to Roslin as a brilliant pupil working in the rather restrained tradition of his mentor, who limited illuminations to the canon tables and to the portraits of the Evangelists and avoided most

narrative illustrations of the Gospels.[28] And yet here, already, Roslin inserted small marginal scenes to enhance the meaning of the Holy Book. For example, an angel speaks to Mary across a column of text to form an Annunciation on one page, and Christ carries his cross in the narrow space between the text and the edge of the parchment on another.[29] While Roslin copied and illuminated the Zeytun Gospels himself, he must have relied on the contributions of the many fine artists and craftsmen assembled at Hromkla. He named only one of them, the priest Vardan, who created a fitting binding for the Catholicos's own Gospels. It is possible that the silver cross and holy portraits that remain on the Gospels to this day are fragments of Vardan's original composition.[30]

Beyond Hromkla's scriptorium, battles raged. As an ally of the Mongols, Hetum participated in their military campaigns. Möngke's brother Hulagu, Genghis Khan's grandson, led the Mongols along with Armenian troops in the siege and sack of Baghdad in 1258. Its capital gone and the last caliph assassinated, the Abbasid state collapsed. Hulagu continued his campaign, steering his redoubtable army eastward, conquering and plundering along the way. In the late summer of 1259, the army crossed the Euphrates at Hromkla. The Catholicos Constantine met the Mongol leader in great ceremony and gave him his benediction, an event that deeply impressed Armenian chroniclers.[31] Perhaps Toros Roslin himself was present among the Catholicos's retinue on that day. Indeed, the Mongols made a vivid visual impression on the artist: a Gospels he illuminated a year later contains a beautiful Adoration of the Magi.[32] Roslin painted five enigmatic men in Mongol headgear behind the Three Magi, marking a rare departure from the traditional iconography. Perhaps this was Roslin's way of reflecting on the momentous historic events of his time and interpreting them in light of biblical ideas. One of the Mongols, set apart by a distinctive headgear, who confidently points a finger toward the star in the sky above, is perhaps Hulagu himself. A caption reads, "The Mongol came today." Roslin wrote

in the manuscript's colophon about Hulagu, "the master of the universe," who with the "God-loving and pious king of the Armenians, Hetum . . . took the famous Aleppo."[33] Indeed, the Mongol-led coalition conquered Aleppo in early 1260 and sacked it mercilessly. The Ayyubid dynasty crumbled in turn.

The Mongols were defeating the Islamic rulers of the Middle East one after the other. Only the sultans of Cairo remained, the Mamluks, who had taken power in 1250. Their military might managed to keep the Mongols at bay, with a decisive victory over the Mongol forces in 1260. The Mamluks asserted themselves as key players in the complex geopolitics around Cilicia.[34]

Despite the troubled times, Roslin and the scriptorium at Hromkla continued unabated to produce some of Cilicia's most beautiful and luxurious artworks. In 1262 Roslin completed his perhaps most exquisite work, a Gospels for the priest Toros, a nephew of the Catholicos (known as the Sivas Gospels, now "Baltimore, Walters Ms. 539").[35] This manuscript showcases Roslin's own stylistic voice. Innovating on his teachers' traditions, Roslin enriched the Gospels with cycles of narrative illustrations in a more painterly style. He drew upon his knowledge of the ancient Armenian manuscript tradition; he also consulted illustrated Byzantine and Crusader or Latin manuscripts and sometimes borrowed artistic ideas, iconographic details, or stylistic markers. He drew upon his deep knowledge of the Gospels as well as his observations of the life around him to forge a new repertory of images.[36]

The same year, he contributed paintings for a Gospels created for the marriage of Crown Prince Levon. Roslin's portrait of the young couple evoked the wedding ceremony. Wearing jeweled crowns and sumptuous garments modeled on Byzantine imperial garb, the groom holds up a Gospels while the bride clasps a lit candle.[37] This was probably not the first time the painter portrayed Prince Levon. A portrait of the prince as a richly dressed adolescent protected by two angels appears in a fragmentary manuscript whose style strongly recalls Roslin's.[38]

Roslin's creative output continued as demand grew from his patrons, the realm's highest-ranking nobles and clerics. His rank in the scriptorium must have risen as well. He calligraphed and illuminated full manuscripts, or he contributed selected paintings for manuscripts copied and illuminated by his colleagues.[39]

But history was about to take a darker turn. The Mongol Empire's center of gravity had remained in East Asia. Its weakening power in its western periphery in the wake of its defeat by the Mamluks left local allies like the Armenians vulnerable. Indeed, in 1266, when the larger-than-life Mamluk sultan Baybars al-Bunduqdari (r. 1260–77) invaded northern Syria, he also attacked Cilicia. The Armenian forces suffered a crushing defeat at the hand of the Mamluks on August 24, 1266, at the Battle of Mari. With King Hetum away on a desperate plea for help from the Mongol court in Tabriz, Hetum's sons commanded the army. Toros was killed in battle, while Levon fell captive to the Mamluks along with his Mongol Armenian cousin Basil, son of the Constable Sempad. Afterward, the Mamluk armies devastated the cities of Cilicia and even pillaged and burned the great cathedral at Sis. By 1268 Baybars also conquered the Crusader principality of Antioch, defeating its prince, who was Hetum's son-in-law. Cilicia's southeastern flank was left open. Roslin wrote: "At this time great Antioch was captured by the wicked king of Egypt [Baybars], and many were killed and became his prisoners, and a cause of anguish to the holy and famous temples, houses of God, which are in it; the wonderful elegance of the beauty of those which were destroyed by fire is beyond the power of words."[40] Roslin's patron, the Catholicos Constantine, died soon after these reversals.

The victorious Baybars now added "Slayer of the Mongols, the Armenians, and the Franks" to his already hyperbolic titles.[41] Prince Levon spent nearly two years in captivity in Cairo. To obtain the return of his only surviving son and heir, Hetum ceded a number of strategic fortresses to the Mamluks.[42] The king's half-brother Vasak

went to Cairo to obtain the release of Levon, who returned to Cilicia in June 1268.[43] His succession secure once again, the fifty-five-year-old king Hetum abdicated the throne to join a monastery.

After Constantine's death, the patronage of luxury manuscripts at Hromkla abated; the scriptorium may have dispersed as the artists sought new patrons. One last Gospels made for Prince Vasak around 1268, possibly intended to commemorate the prince's safe return to Cilicia, was likely illustrated under Roslin's leadership.[44] The artist then disappears from the historical record.

Following Hetum's death, the thirty-five-year-old Levon and his wife, Keran, were crowned king and queen at Tarsus in great ceremony in 1271. The presence of many diplomatic delegations indicates that despite the toll of the disaster of 1266, the kingdom was still an important player in the geopolitics of the Mediterranean.[45] The art of that period also bears witness to extraordinary refinement: Queen Keran's personal Gospels, commissioned to celebrate her and her husband's coronation, includes a portrait of the royal couple with their children in ceremonial robes, kneeling before a celestial vision of Christ, who blesses them, flanked by the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Baptist. The colors shine like enamel, and gold is used liberally.[46] The same year, 1271, the Venetian merchant Marco Polo came through the port of Ayas, "a city good and great and of great trade."[47] Cilicia was experiencing a period of respite, all too brief, between devastating Mamluk incursions.

Some forty years later, another Venetian, Marino Sanudo, starkly characterized the perilous balancing act of the Cilician sovereigns: "The king of Armenia, is under the fangs of four ferocious beasts—the lion, or the Tartars [Mongols], to whom he pays a heavy tribute; the leopard, or the Sultan, who daily ravages his frontiers; the wolf, or the Turks, who destroy his power; and the serpent, or the pirates of our seas, who worry the very bones of the Christians of Armenia."[48] Keran bore sixteen children, ten sons and six daughters, including three sets of twins. Ten of them reached adulthood. Exemplifying

the difficult and unpredictable fortunes of royals, five of the princes occupied the throne at different times, and three among them were murdered, victims of internal strife that the constant threat of war exacerbated.

Mamluk incursions soon resumed.[49] They dispatched one Crusader state after the other. The Armenian Kingdom had preceded the Latins and was to be the last holdout of the medieval Christian states of the Eastern Mediterranean. The Sultan al-Ashraf attacked Hromkla and sacked it on June 29, 1292. The Mamluk troops looted and destroyed the famed library and scriptorium. Indeed, the manuscripts created at Hromkla that have come down to our day escaped destruction only because they had been taken out of the castle before its devastation.[50] The Mamluks took notable survivors captive, including the Catholicos of the time, as well as the church treasures and sacred objects, among them the relic of the Right Hand of Saint Gregory the Illuminator.[51] Hromkla's downfall reverberated among Armenians. As an act of mourning, the bishop of a nearby scriptorium gathered relics of apostles and saints and solemnly encased them in a wooden casket, which he placed in a triptych. He had it covered with portraits of saints and kings chiseled in silver, along with his own poem lamenting the fall of Hromkla. Known as the Reliquary of Skevra, this exquisite object survives as one of the rare remnants of Cilician metalwork and is one of the most sacred relics of the Armenian Church.[52]

Cilician nobles eventually ransomed the captives and the relics from Hromkla at great expense. They did not return to Hromkla, however, but rather proceeded to Sis, deep inside the Kingdom of Cilicia, where the seat of the Catholicos had moved. In time, even some of the remains of important religious figures were disinterred from Hromkla and reburied in Sis.

King Hetum's vision of a Mongol-Armenian alliance finally unraveled when the Mongol rulers adopted Islam as their official religion in 1295 and reoriented their empire eastward, away from the

Cilician Kingdom and their erstwhile Christian allies. A diminished kingdom managed to endure until 1375, when the Mamluks captured it definitively and sent the last king, Levon V, into exile. Thereafter, the Armenian communities of Cilicia adapted themselves to life under Islamic rule.

As for Toros Roslin, his name disappeared from history. Of the many students and colleagues he must have had at Hromkla, who must have created manuscripts themselves and trained their own students, no work of theirs remains that mentions Roslin. Among the manuscripts he illuminated, those that survived followed disparate trajectories passing through monasteries and churches from Cilicia to Jerusalem to Rostov-on-Don.[53] The Gospels Roslin illuminated in 1262 for the priest Toros made its way to a church in Sivas (today Baltimore, Walters Ms. 539). There the scribe Mikayel, son of Bargham, came upon it and fell under its spell. When he set to illuminate a Gospels manuscript himself, Mikayel followed Roslin's model faithfully, reproducing compositions, motifs, even flowers, with small variations. In a 1670 colophon, he admonishes future worshippers to keep Roslin's memory alive: "I beg you to also remember the excellent scribe Toros, surnamed Roslin, the illuminator of the model."[54] Mikayel's tribute to Roslin is the only time his name was mentioned in nearly seven centuries.

THE ART OF THE ARMENIAN GOSPELS BOOK

Intermittent warfare and devastation alongside great wealth, mobility, and connectedness: the artists of Cilicia plied their craft against this backdrop, turning it into a high period of Armenian art. The Cilician nobility and clergy patronized many kinds of objects. Most of these have vanished without a trace, like so much from the medieval world. Luxury textiles, velvets, and brocades that were among the most expensive items in those days, made into liturgical vestments or robes of honor, have long since fallen victim to the assaults

of time, moths, and decay. Little has remained of the luxurious furnishings of Cilician palaces. Of fine armor, horse trappings, ceremonial swords and scepters, few survive. Of this lost medieval world, a smattering of objects remain, scattered all over the world: coins; religious objects, like reliquaries or chalices; and manuscripts.

The Cilician scribes produced elaborately decorated royal letters and decrees; works of history both old and new; texts in theology, medicine, and astronomy. The most elaborate aesthetic treatment was reserved for religious manuscripts—rituals, hymnals, and prayer books. And among them the most care was lavished on Gospels, which became the privileged medium for artistic expression.

A fraction of Cilicia's religious manuscripts endure to this day. Unlike royal households and noble palaces, the churches and monasteries of the Armenian faith outlived the fall of the Kingdom of Cilicia. Believers and priests continued to use manuscripts such as those Roslin illuminated. They repaired them and embellished them, as evidenced by new bindings, restored pages, and added inscriptions. They preserved them in monastic libraries and treasuries and copied their illustrations and texts. Abbots gifted special old manuscripts to each other and to pilgrimage centers, like the Monastery of Saint James, the seat of the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, where five out of the seven surviving signed Roslin manuscripts were once located.[55]

These manuscripts were the products of Armenian religious culture. The adoption of Christianity in the early fourth century brought medieval Armenia into the embrace of the Christian world. Armenian priests participated in the debates of the early Church Fathers in the Roman Empire, the Syriac Church, and other Eastern Christian traditions. Nevertheless, the Armenian Church maintained its institutional, theological, and ritual independence at the eastern edge of the evangelized world. The Armenian Church proudly calls itself apostolic, claiming the apostles Bartholomew and Thaddeus as its founders. Priests would read the books of the Bible in the languages in which they were written, and translated them for

their Armenian congregants, probably mostly orally. However, by the fifth century the church further asserted its independence when it chose Armenian as its only liturgical language, jettisoning Greek and Syriac.[56] Mesrob Mashtots (ca. 361–439) devised a new, unique alphabet to write the Armenian language, instead of using Greek or other scripts. He also led the immense task of translating all religious texts into Armenian. The translators traveled to the centers of Christian learning like Antioch, Alexandria, and Edessa. They studied Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Aramaic. They compiled authentic and complete manuscripts, devised a recension of the Holy Book, and established the order in which its sections should appear.[57] The work of translation was in fact an erudite interpretation, as they had to render not only the terms but also the concepts of Christianity's evolving theology in the Armenian language. By the first half of the fifth century the Bible had been translated into Armenian. Priests now used this Armenian rendering of Christianity's central concepts and stories to transmit God's truth to their flock. In recognition of this monumental achievement, the Armenian Church canonized the translators and recognized their leaders as individual saints, such as Mesrob Mashtots. The legacy of the Holy Translators, as they are known, remains central to Armenian culture beyond the church as well; indeed, the modern institution in Armenia where the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels is kept, the Matenadaran, is named for Mashtots.

The first words written down in the Armenian alphabet also constitute the first biblical phrase translated into Armenian, the opening of the Book of Proverbs: "To know wisdom and instruction, to perceive the words of understanding."[58] This created an inextricable link between the Armenian language and the Holy Book. Armenians call the Bible "the breath of God" (*Asduadzashunch*). More than any other Christian tradition, Armenians revere the Bible, not only as a holy text but also as the record of sacred sounds and as a particularly hallowed object.

Indeed, the semantic content of the Armenian text of the Bible formed the bedrock of liturgy in every place of prayer. It also played a decisive role not only in the development of the immense volume of Armenian biblical commentary over the centuries, but also in influencing Armenian literature generally.[59] The Bible was present in its auditory dimension as well. The recitation of the Bible in Armenian infused the soundscape of Armenian faith and life. It permeated liturgical activities as well as everyday speech. Over the centuries, as the living speech of Armenians evolved, the medieval Armenian of the Bible turned into a near-incomprehensible language.[60] Even then, the sound of biblical Armenian, recited in a prayer or sung as a hymn, took on a holy aura and authority, all the more special since its full understanding required study and initiation into the priesthood.

The Armenian tradition also accords a central place to the Bible as a book—as a material object. Priests bless every ritual with the Gospels and the cross, known together as *khach-avedaran*. When Mass is celebrated, the Bible is placed on the altar next to the holy cross. The book that is the very Breath of God symbolizes the presence of Jesus Christ among the congregants.[61] At given times during Mass, the priest raises up the book, its ornate binding visible to the congregants; he lowers it to allow clergymen to bow to it and kiss it; and he reads passages from it out loud.[62]

Given its centrality in liturgy, an Armenian Bible has to be placed at every altar. When the method of book printing became available, Armenian Church leaders eagerly adopted the movable-type printing process, and the Armenian Bible was in print by the early sixteenth century.[63] Before printing, however, every church required its own handwritten copy of the holy text and some households of means also kept treasured family Bibles. Hand-copied books were costly, even if they used paper rather than parchment and less-expensive inks. A small parish could be content with a modest Bible; however, wealthy

churches and noble households commissioned luxurious Bibles made of precious materials and special illuminations and bindings.

A manuscript of the Bible occupies a privileged place in Armenian culture as "the religious object par excellence, comparable to the reliquary in Western Catholicism and the icon in the Greek Orthodox church."[64] The Bible in its entirety or in parts, and above all the Gospel Books, or *Avedaran*, are sacred and powerful objects that possess the ability to act in the world. They are central to the celebration of Mass. They are venerated, wrapped in precious textiles, and endowed with dazzling bindings. They are placed on altars for all to see, then secreted away in treasuries. Medieval kings took their Gospel Books with them on military campaigns as talismans. Merchants swore solemn oaths on them. Some manuscripts possessed miraculous powers and bore special names, such as "Savior of All," "Resurrector of the Dead," and "Warder-Off of Evil."[65] To obtain the blessings of a powerful holy book, congregants made special votive offerings that were then affixed on the manuscript's binding, a practice unique to Armenians.[66]

Commissioning and copying a Gospels manuscript was a sacred task undertaken to ensure the eternal salvation of the donor most of all, but also of the artists and craftsmen who collaborated in its creation: scribe, illuminator, and binder. All those involved in the creation of a religious manuscript and even in its later maintenance had a claim on the book's ability to intercede for humans with God. This belief explains why donors as well as artists took care to memorialize their participation in this pious task. They recorded their names and asked to be remembered in the prayers of the manuscript's later users. A notation in one sacred manuscript expressed this explicitly: "The ways of doing good and nearing God are many, the greatest being martyrdom, then by the life of monasticism and finally by purchasing books of the scriptures for the glory of God, to aid personal salvation and benefit the public."[67]

Thus, the obligation to copy the Scriptures accompanied the duty and desire to record the names of those who took part in this sacred responsibility. This incited a unique feature of Armenian manuscripts: they nearly always bear the signatures of their makers, sponsors, and owners. These signatures appear in a colophon, or *hishadagaran*, literally "a place of memory." This text, attached to the sacred Scripture, recorded the date and place in which the manuscript was copied; the name of its owner, sponsor, or intended recipient; and often the names of the scribes and artists who participated in creating the manuscript. Nearly ubiquitous in Armenian manuscripts, colophons are less common to other traditions, which places scholars at a disadvantage in trying to determine the date of a manuscript or its place of creation.

The briefest colophons provide barebones information about the patron, the manuscript's date and place of production, and the name of the scribe or painter. In many instances, however, the colophon provides details about each of these individuals, names their family members, and specifies the circumstances of the manuscript's creation. Thus, when a colophon is preserved, the manuscript and its parts can be securely dated, and knowledge of the place of production allows art historians to reconstruct the history of entire scriptoria and the evolution of painting styles, to know something of the motivations and social context of the work's creators. Furthermore, when the colophon is extensive, it can be a valuable historical source and even amount to a textual genre in and of itself. Many such colophons describe auspicious events such as the birth of a prince or a great alliance; they relate great calamities, earthquakes, famines, and wars. Some colophons argue theological points or defend political factions. Medievalists have long relied on colophons as historical documents, not only to clarify chronology and genealogy but also to gain a sense of how medieval people perceived and interpreted the events of their lives.[68]

The writers of colophons were nearly always priests, and frequently the main scribe or painter. As a scribe, Roslin wrote colophons as well. Those colophons by his hand are the only remaining trace of his worldview, of his own voice. His colophons are typical of the genre in their religious tone: "May Christ have mercy on this sinful scribe," implored Roslin in the Zeytun Gospels.[69] The language of colophons is most often classical Armenian, as priests were schooled in the church's sacred language. In later centuries, however, colophons appear in the spoken Armenian language, perhaps a local vernacular or dialect, as in the case of the Zeytun Gospels' later colophons. Village priests added colophons to ancient books in a parochial language riddled with spelling errors. Thus the colophons can reflect the high literary language as well as the living vernaculars, making them a barometer for the development of the Armenian language.

Colophons can also comment on the manuscripts themselves. They reflect upon the manuscript in which they are included. They describe it, praise it, and prescribe rules for its use and protection. Colophon writers ask them to be read aloud to the public on specific days, turning the colophon into a performance.[70] Colophon-as-recitation perpetuated the memory of the individuals named within it, associated them with particular feast days, and conveyed their message to future congregations. Colophons also placed religious and moral obligations on future users of the manuscript. They asked them to pray for the manuscript's commissioners; they forbade them from selling the manuscript or removing it from its chosen repository; they exhorted them to rescue the manuscript if it was stolen or carried off as booty.[71] Indeed, manuscripts, like persons of noble lineage, were sometimes "carried off into captivity," in medieval parlance, and likewise could be "rescued or ransomed from captivity."[72] Colophons enforced these obligations with fearsome anathemas and curses for those who would violate the manuscript: "Should anyone

dare to steal this holy Gospel, or tear off pages from it, or remove it from the great church of the holy and most immaculate monastery of Tat'ev, may he share the fate of Cain, Judas, and the crucifiers and inherit the doleful maledictions, amen."[73] A later colophon in the Zeytun Gospels admonished: "Whoever was unworthy who opened it [this book] and read it, it did not turn out well for him. . . . Fathers and brothers! Open it with awe, and read it with veneration."[74]

Over the centuries, colophons accumulated in sediments. Owners or users of manuscripts added colophons, writing themselves into their holy book. In especially valuable manuscripts, priests recorded catastrophic events, wars, and natural disasters, reflecting the community's concerns as well as observations of a more personal or even quirky nature. The manuscripts became a repository of communal history, memory, but also of individual hopes, fears, and aspirations.

The colophons demonstrate that revered holy books were anything but static objects buried in libraries. Rather, they fulfilled their role as communities interacted with them, manipulated them, reshaped them, made them meaningful and active in the present. Once a book was created, illuminated, and bound, it was a completed object, but its trajectory in social life was only beginning. People actively engaged with holy books: they raised them up and read from them during liturgy; they secured them in precious boxes; they remodeled the books by changing bindings and adding or subtracting paintings; and they continually intervened with the text by adding colophons and notations that brought the book into their present and made it their own.

The accumulated colophons in a manuscript help us understand its biography and the way its users engaged with it. People revered manuscripts for their textual content above all—for it reproduced the Breath of God. Among the numerous sections that make up the Bible, the four Gospels attracted special devotion. The most magnificent manuscripts in medieval Armenian art gather the four Gospels more than any other section of the Bible. They are copied in beauti-

ful writing, illuminated with images, and adorned with heavy bindings made of ivory or precious metals and encrusted with jewels.

Indeed, the Armenian Church exhibited a propensity toward images of many kinds. It eschewed the iconoclastic currents of some Eastern Christian traditions as well as the caution toward figural imagery within the geographically proximate arts of Judaism and Islam.[75] Accordingly, the material support of a religious text could also be precious. Rare and expensive materials enhanced religious manuscripts, like the highest-quality parchment, gold, silver, and inks made of minerals. Artistry in deploying precious materials also enhanced manuscripts. The art of calligraphy comprised several types of scripts. For example, Roslin wrote the Zeytun Gospels in limpid *bolorgir*, or "round script," where the letters appear slanted and their corners pointed. He wrote the Sivas Gospels (Walters Ms. 539) in the most lavish uncial, a handwriting of greater sophistication and quality comprised entirely of capital letters.

Illuminations also enriched manuscripts. By the time Toros Roslin began his artistic career, around the middle of the thirteenth century, Armenian Gospels illumination was highly codified.[76] Artists created elaborate headings similar to architectural frames at the beginning of chapters, covering up to half a page. Artists turned the initial letters of chapters into stylized animals, persons, plants, or abstract ornaments. Using a section or the entirety of a page, artists painted portraits of the Evangelists and crafted narrative scenes of significant events in the Gospel story, or those with particular theological import and resonance, such as the Crucifixion or Nativity. The choice of specific scenes or the number and frequency of paintings depended on the wealth of the patron or the theological messages he wished to emphasize. It may have also depended on the artist: over the course of his career, Roslin tended to increase the number of narrative illustrations in his manuscripts. Armenian Gospel Books did not have set iconographic cycles, and the choice of scenes to be illustrated could differ from period to period. Smaller

marginal illustrations commented on specific motifs in the text or even provided an extra-textual interpretation of religious ideas.[77] Even though artists followed strict conventions for religious painting, their talent and individuality peeked through, and the occasional small marginal image or doodle brought out their whimsy.

Sumptuous canon tables were a focus of aesthetic elaboration in Roslin's time. Gospels manuscripts opened with the letter by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (ca.260–ca.340), detailing his system for indexing the Gospels, known as the canon tables, which appeared next.[78] Eusebius's canon tables constitute a visual diagram tabulating numbered sections that relate the same narrative event in more than one of the four Gospels. This concordance of related passages functioned as more than an index: it highlighted the four Gospels' points of agreement and aided theological research. The canon tables comprised columns of numbers often placed within an architectural frame. In the Armenian version, the numbers are rendered as a series of letters, as each letter of the Armenian alphabet also has a numerical value. Cilician Gospels often lavished a feast of decoration on the canon tables, with ornate arches, architectural motifs, animals and plants, figural scenes, or symbols of the Evangelists. Some of these motifs may be much more than decorative flourishes: they may be theological concepts and religious principles rendered as images. For example, a pair of birds drinking from a vessel may symbolize souls who thirst for immortality.[79]

To the contemporary eye, canon tables may seem less compelling than vividly rendered narrative scenes such as the Last Supper or the Ascension. The canon tables are essentially lists of numbers. They evince neither plot nor drama. Yet for medieval readers they were an indispensible element of any luxury Gospel Book and played a starring role in their decoration.[80] Illuminators spent considerable time and used more precious materials to complete them than they did for the other illustrations. Canon tables boast the same range of colors and the same, or greater, care of execution as the other major

figural or narrative illustrations in a book. They also take up a large proportion of the illustrations in a book, extending over eight, ten, or twelve full-length pages. They were neither minor nor accidental additions to manuscripts. In the case of the Zeytun Gospels, its Canon Tables, along with the full-page Evangelist portraits, are the most lavishly illuminated pages in the manuscript.

Few documents survive that convey the appeal and meaning of the canon tables for medieval viewers.[81] The Armenian tradition, however, has preserved such symbolic interpretations, which scribes often copied on the reverse of the pages that bore the decorated canon tables.[82] As it happens, an especially refined interpretation of the canon tables has come down to our day from the hand of a most influential figure of the church at Hromkla, written a little less than a century before Roslin illuminated the Zeytun Gospels at the very same scriptorium. Nerses Klayetsi (1102–73), known as Shnorhali, or "Full of Grace," an honorific bestowed on those who completed the highest levels of religious education in Cilicia, was a theologian, poet, and musician. He ruled as Catholicos at Hromkla in 1166–73 and was later canonized as a saint. Among the learned studies and inspired hymns Nerses composed at Hromkla was a *Commentary on the Canon Tables*.[83]

Catholicos Nerses's commentary took its place in a long line of debates among Christians about the arts in the religious experience. For his part, Nerses expressed a strong affinity for images in firm opposition to the iconoclastic currents in some Eastern Christian traditions. Faced with a holy image, Nerses wrote, one worships not the material object—the wood, stone, or metal of which a cross is made, or the paints that adorn an illuminated page. Rather, through a visible, material depiction one worships that which is invisible: God. Thus a sacred image provides even the most humble and unworthy person with the means to reach the great invisible being. Nerses believed that music, like the visual arts, aided worship, and the hymns he composed can be heard during liturgy at Armenian churches anywhere in the world on a given Sunday to this day. Yet not all images

were equal, nor did they call for equal treatment. An image of Christ was to be worshipped; but depictions of mortals like saints were to be honored and glorified, as the saints they represented were intercessors and mediators between humans and God. Nerses thus privileged the content of the image over its form. Nevertheless, precious materials or beauty of execution enhanced the effectiveness of an image. Depictions of such power called for respectful treatment; those who degraded a sacred image insulted that which was portrayed.[84]

Some intricate images had the power to show the church's most elusive mysteries. With his *Commentary on the Canon Tables*, Nerses focused on art's ability to portray allegorical ideas. Canon tables are called *khoran* in Armenian. The word's archaic meaning of tent or pavilion had evolved to refer to a sacred table set up under an arch, and by extension it acquired the Christian meaning of altar. Nerses drew on the notion of a sacred table rendered in paint and infused it with theological import. The Catholicos-poet wrote: "Know this. The illuminated ornaments and multicolored hues of the . . . ten canon tables are not depicted in vain and without meaning."[85] The canon tables are not to be dismissed as merely an ornate table of contents. Rather, the images of altars, columns, birds, and flowers had "a deep mystery and a hidden meaning and a secret genius."[86]

Nerses imbued every detail of a painter's rendering of the canon tables with religious meaning. For him, what appears to be whimsical or abstract ornamentation is in fact a carefully thought-out visual exegesis of theological concepts. Each canon table expresses a particular religious meaning on its own; furthermore, the ten canons together, in the right sequence, tell a progressive story about God's message to humanity, from the prophets of the Old Testament through the death and resurrection of Christ; in addition, the canon tables prophesied the ultimate victory of Christianity. In Nerses's presentation, each of the ten canon tables represented a particularly sacred table from the Bible. For example, the first canon represented the unattainable light of God; the sixth canon stood for Noah's Ark;

the ninth canon symbolized the altar of Solomon, culminating in the tenth canon, a representation of the victorious holy church, "which encompasses the mysteries of all."

To depict this "visual exegesis," Nerses prescribed a visual repertoire that consisted of the colors red, green, black, blue, and the special color *dsirani*, a royal yellow or gold. As for motifs, he prescribed four plants—the date palm, the olive tree, the lily, and the pomegranate shrub—in addition to five birds: the peacock, dove, partridge, rooster, and swan. Each canon was to feature specific colors, plants, and animals placed within columns and under ornate arches in configurations that expressed theological concepts. Thus, the fifth and sixth canons symbolize Noah's Ark and the Altar of Abraham, two Old Testament motifs that prefigure the mystery of Christ's blood and thus ought to be colored mostly red. A soaring palm tree must appear in the ninth canon, recalling the words of David: "If truth comes out of the earth, then justice appears from heaven."[87] The tenth canon, which symbolizes the holy church, must also signify the harmony of the Old and New Testaments. It features roosters, which symbolize the prophets of old, while aquatic fishing birds such as swans represent the apostles, those fishers of men. The swans face the roosters because the apostles of the New Testament are the translators of the prophets of the Old Testament.

Catholicos Nerses thus interpreted the canon tables as a visual summation of theological ideas, such as the unity of the Old and New Testaments, the light Christ brought to the world, the links between prophets and apostles, and the promised ultimate victory of the church. In the canon tables complex theological ideas are conveyed though a particular imagery. Many images found in the Gospels—the Annunciation, say, or the Crucifixion—are narrative images representing certain events, though they too can be full of symbolic motifs that function as a shorthand for theological ideas. By contrast, in the canon tables, the imagery relies not on narrative, but rather exclusively on symbols. To understand these symbols, one

needs to have a command of theological ideas. Nerses saw religious art, especially art of great refinement, as a means to understand the spiritual, most especially for the discerning viewer—educated noblemen and priests like himself. The canon tables, with their profusion of forms and colors, would become "instruments for meditation" for such refined viewers.[88] However, even though the canon tables' artistic virtuosity presented theological ideas visually, they nevertheless stopped short of revealing all. They contained God's mystery, which was always ultimately unattainable: "The mystery is apparent only to a few, and its entirety only to God."[89] Thus the canon tables were a compelling combination of exegesis and mystery, both symbolic and hidden. As Nerses put it, they are "baths of sight and hearing for those approaching the soaring peaks of God."[90]

Nerses's *Commentary on the Canon Tables* relates only in an indirect manner to the actual illumination of Gospels manuscripts. No painter appears to have followed his instructions to the letter, even though the specific species of birds and plants he mentioned do occur in painted canon tables. Plausibly, Nerses aimed his commentary at erudites like himself rather than at artisans and craftsmen. Nevertheless, the *Commentary* intimates the high degree to which Nerses valued art and, moreover, art's unique status as an entry point into complex religious ideas. Nerses invoked the power of colors and motifs to communicate religious ideas in his text. Yet his prescriptions did not amount to rigid instructions for artists, and no miniaturist followed his rules to the letter. Rather, although Nerses's rich interpretation of the canon tables may have inspired painters, they mostly relied on visual models from previous Gospels and on pictorial traditions passed down from teacher to pupil.[91] Still, Nerses's interpretation certainly helps us understand why canon tables were so ornate and so prominent in medieval Armenian Gospels manuscripts. We can also assume that Nerses's notion about the canon tables as a type of art dense with religious meaning was shared by the artists at the scriptorium of Hromkla and passed on from teacher to student up to, decades later, Roslin himself.

HROMKLA AFTER THE FALL

Hromkla never regained its medieval prominence after the Mamluk sack of 1292. Its military role continued, as the Mamluks rebuilt some of its defenses and recorded victory inscriptions on its walls.[92] It retained a trace of its religious importance as a Christian pilgrimage site, with a small resident community as well as the settlements in its hinterland. An Armenian priest who visited it around 1705 wrote with awe of the still "astonishing Hromkla."[93]

In August 1889 a young pilgrim described Hromkla in his diary as "a single monolithic rock . . . that watches over the Euphrates, hiding in its midst the relics of the Catholicos of the Armenians."[94] Papken Guleserian (1868–1936), along with schoolmates from his hometown of Aintab, joined a stream of pilgrims from nearby Armenian communities to visit Hromkla's shrine of Saint Nerses on the Feast Day of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God.[95] The scholarly Guleserian made the connection between this "Der Nerses" of local folklore and the great Nerses Shnorhali, the very author of the *Commentary on the Canon Tables*. Shnorhali had been Catholicos at Hromkla from 1166 to 1173. His remains were probably still interred in the castle grounds. Shnorhali's historic death date was in August, probably prompting the association with the Feast of the Mother of God.

For the schoolboys the ruins provided a window on to the lost world of their ancestors' glorious past. They approached the castle while singing one of Nerses Shnorhali's famous compositions, a religious hymn called "Aravot Luso" (Morning of light). Guleserian carefully scanned the landscape for signs of the past and noted down his impressions of ramparts, towers, and fragmentary Armenian or Arabic inscriptions. Pausing in front of the monumental tower, Guleserian especially admired the workmanship of the two *khachkar*s embedded on its façade. They had been, he noted, "intentionally defaced by malicious hands." Thus, by the late nineteenth century Hromkla suffered from decay, neglect, and the passage of time, in addition to the intentional destruction of some of its most sacred

signs. The high culture that men like Roslin and Shnorhali created on the citadel had long vanished or was entombed beneath the ruins. A small Muslim community who lived among the castle's remains had repaired one of the medieval churches and used it as a mosque. Guleserian wondered about the great churches, historic inscriptions, and medieval objects that lay buried, and looked forward to a day when the modern science of archaeology would bring them to light.[96]

Guleserian was part of the intellectual renaissance that Ottoman Armenians experienced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in capital cities like Istanbul as well as provincial towns like Marash, rather than in the medieval centers of Armenian power like Hromkla. His visit to the forlorn remains of the medieval past inspired and galvanized him. Guleserian went on to study at the seminary near Istanbul, was ordained a priest, and vowed to compile a history of the Armenian Church.[97] Though he published studies and monographs on aspects of this history, Guleserian was not fated to complete the grand historical panorama he envisioned. As a bishop he witnessed the effects of the Armenian Genocide when he visited survivors living in refugee camps and shantytowns on the outskirts of Middle Eastern cities. During a stop in Aleppo, he drew a clear correlation between the wretched survivors and orphans he met in shantytowns, and the deteriorated Armenian manuscripts he encountered, noting down his impressions in an ancient manuscript and creating a colophon to memorialize the trauma of his people.[98] He would himself become Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia years later but in circumstances far removed from the power and glory of his storied predecessors at Hromkla. Instead of leading the intellectual renaissance of Ottoman Armenians, it fell to leaders like Guleserian to bear the burden of witnessing his people's extermination during the genocide, and then to assume the long, arduous task of gathering and salvaging what remained of his dispersed flock of pilgrims.

Chapter 3

ZEYTUN

The Lost World of Ottoman Armenians

• ZEYTUN. THE CITADEL. 1910.

They placed the Gospel Book in an iron box. They set the box in a hidden niche in the north wall of the baptism chamber of the Church of the Holy Mother of God, on the citadel of Zeytun. The box had two locks. The church council kept one key. The Lord of the Citadel held the other. Among the icons and venerable books in Zeytun's churches, the Gospel Book was the manuscript they surrounded with the most pride and care. None but the most honored outsiders received permission to view it. In its iron box in the hidden niche in the chamber in the church on the citadel, the sacred book protected the city from enemies and invaders.

The church on the citadel burned down twice in twenty years. The fire consumed neighborhoods, homes, heirlooms, even holy objects. The Gospels emerged intact. They said years ago the Armenian Catholic Monsignor of Marash sought to buy it. He offered its weight in gold, two and a half okkas (or just over seven pounds). The people of Zeytun refused to part with their Holy Book.

. . .

The Zeytun Gospels takes its name from the mountain town in Cilicia where it last functioned as a liturgical object, up until it was uprooted in 1915. Zeytun remains an isolated place, some forty miles as the crow flies north of the nearest city, Marash. To reach it, you must ascend the Taurus Mountains, while the rocky terrain grows increasingly rugged. Picture journeying there in Ottoman times, without a car, without the new highway, hiking up treacherous trails in the depth of winter. The traveler W. J. Childs did just this in

1911–12, led by two Zeytuntsi guides. From Marash, Childs crossed the river Jeyhan, through the gorge of the Zeytun River, on narrow paths overlooking precipices of "1000 feet." "[Its] only approaches are mountain tracks through some of the most savage country in Asia Minor."[1] Finally Zeytun came into view. In the heavy rain he saw vertical rows of houses, rising up into the clouds:

> Beirût Dagh [Berit Mountain], the ten or eleven thousand foot high mountain, on a spur of which Zeitûn stands. The town is built on a rocky promontory thrusting into the gorge of the Zeitûn Su, with a lesser gorge and torrent on either side. On the highest point of this jutting rock is the Kale or Castle, on one face overhanging a sheer precipice—some of its rooms built over the void,—on others rearing itself above terraced buildings. Behind the Kale and the tongue of rock the town—in the weather in which I saw it—literally went up into the clouds in steps of hanging buildings.[2]

It was Zeytun's fierce reputation that drew Childs to it. "You hear more wild stories of Zeitûn than of any other place in Asia Minor. Of it's [*sic*] 'Robber Ward,' the quarter where Zeitûn brigands lived in open honour, whence they issued like heroes to roam and take toll over the country from Aleppo to . . . the Cilician Gates."[3] Westerners like Childs consistently depicted Zeytun's redoubtable inhabitants as Armenians like no other Armenians. In their mountain hideaway they were free, fearless, warlike, proud; they held on to their medieval chivalry without compromising; they proudly lorded it over Muslims, inverting hierarchies of power; they practiced brigandage in their highland territories yet were generous and hospitable; and most of all, they confronted the Ottoman army, which outnumbered them many times over, and defeated it.

Behind the iconic, timeless image of a rugged town and its heroic inhabitants stood a city and a community deeply enmeshed in local and global transformations. Their unique history and lore, now

largely lost, shaped the Zeytun Gospels' biography between its medieval origins and its twentieth-century journeys.

ZEYTUN'S ORIGINS AND OTTOMAN PRESSURES

Zeytun's unique urban geography was predicated on its striking, naturally fortified setting. At the foot of Berit Mountain, ravines and rivers bordered the town, like a "peninsula," connected to its surroundings by four bridges.[4] An Ottoman bureaucrat described the city thus: "The houses are built one on top of one another . . . so that the roof of one is the courtyard of the other. Its air is pleasant, its waters are extremely delicious, because they come forth . . . from its iron mines."[5] A network of trails, some known only to experienced guides, crisscrossed the rugged terrain. The mountainous landscape featured thick woods, refreshing fountains, treacherous torrents, and thermal springs as well as boulders, caves, and steep slopes. It gave rise to a heterogeneous and vibrant society with visible and invisible boundaries, villages, summer pastures and winter dwellings, areas for grazing and areas for cultivation, sacred spots and accursed places, monasteries and churches full of icons, books, and treasures.

While monasteries had sprouted in lonely mountain outposts since early medieval times, Zeytun's origins are obscure. The place-name *Zeytun* is not attested in the medieval sources, appearing only around the sixteenth century.[6] Its oldest remains, the large stone foundations on the citadel, suggest that it must have been no more than a watchtower during the medieval Cilician Kingdom of Armenia, perhaps the summer residence of the lord of the fortress of Aneh, to the southeast of Zeytun.[7] The fall of the Cilician Kingdom in 1375 opened the way for new Islamic dynasties and territorial formations and resulted in long-term changes in settlement patterns in the mountain communities. While the medieval population of Cilicia had always been diverse, the Islamic dynasties brought new populations to

the area, as well as large-scale conversions to Islam, new trade and economic trends, and new tensions among the various communities. The dynasties that made their mark on the great cities of Cilicia were the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum (1077–1328), the Ramazanoğlu Beylik with their capital at Adana (1352–1608), the Beylik of Dulkadir with their capital at Marash (1337–1522), and finally the Ottomans, who ruled Cilicia from the early sixteenth century to the end of World War I. Some Armenian communities on the Cilician plain converted to Islam, the religion of the new overlords, or they endured in cities like Marash as subjugated non-Muslim (*dhimmi*) communities under Islamic rule, where they held fast to their religion and culture with some restrictions. By contrast, Armenian groups who wished to maintain their autonomy and feudal privileges retreated ever further up into their mountain strongholds in less accessible areas of the Taurus chain. The elders of Zeytun told tales of the battles fought in the waning days of the Cilician Kingdom, and the material remnants of the medieval past loomed large in their perception of the landscape. According to one such story, the Dulkadir dynasts came forth from their base in Marash, conquered Aneh Fortress, and set it on fire. The surviving inhabitants of Aneh retreated to the watchtower at the foot of Berit Mountain and settled there, creating Zeytun.[8] Supporting this origin narrative is the fact that Aneh's medieval name was Kegh (village, or town), identical to the name Zeytuntsis gave their own town when they spoke among themselves, reserving the term Zeytun for use with outsiders. When documents began to mention the place-name Zeytun, which is not an Armenian word, they explained that the town had received its name from the Turks, in reference to the olive orchards that covered the surrounding mountainside at the time.[9]

The name Zeytun began to appear in the sixteenth century. A manuscript copied in "Zeytun citadel" bears the date of 1536, signaling an active religious life.[10] The earliest inscription in Zeytun bore the date 1545. It remained on the eastern wall of the Church

of Saint James through the building's frequent repairs. It recorded the building's original construction during the reign of the Catholicos Simeon and "under the despotism of the sovereign of the Turks, Suleyman"—that is, the ruler known in history as Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520–66).[11] The inscription, which gives precedence to the Armenian Catholicos over the Ottoman sultan, conveys a sense of Zeytun's self-perception of autonomy. This sense of independence rested in an agreement between the lords of Zeytun and the Ottoman sultans in exchange for the Zeytuntsis' support of the Ottomans during their conquest of the region. Later, Sultan Murad IV (r. 1623–40) issued a decree confirming and reaffirming this special arrangement after the Zeytuntsis supported the sovereign against the rebellions known as the Jelali Revolts. This decree affirmed Zeytun's "state of exception and independence" and exempted it from taxes, requiring it instead to send fifteen thousand *kuruş* yearly to the supervisor of the Aya Sofya Mosque in Istanbul, toward the purchase of oil lamps for that sanctuary. The agreement further stated that no Ottoman officials could enter Zeytun. Zeytuntsis invoked this document whenever a conflict arose with Ottoman officialdom.[12]

Like the Armenians retreating up into the mountain, Roslin's Gospels followed a similar path. The manuscript's own colophon relates its history, albeit in cryptic and fragmentary entries. Thus in the sixteenth or seventeenth century—the date is illegible—the book was in the Monastery of Furnus, near Zeytun in the Taurus Mountains, under the protection of the Holy Mother of God and Saint Sarkis. There a certain Grigor, son of Vartan, rebound the manuscript.[13] He made a new binding out of pieces of wood wrapped in leather stamped with small ornamental designs. To the front of the book he affixed more ancient fragments made of silver and copper alloy. These included a central cross, where Christ, under his initials, *Hs. Ks.,* stood holding a book and making the sign of benediction, wearing long draped garments, his feet facing out. Medallions that

contain bust portraits appear at the ends of the cross's four arms. The medallions on the top and bottom of the vertical line of the cross feature angels. The medallion on the left contains the Virgin at prayer, and the one on the right, with the same gesture of prayer, a saint who is probably John the Baptist. Close inspection reveals that the medallions were not originally attached to the cross but have been made to fit somewhat awkwardly. This and the fact that the saint on the right and the angel on the bottom are upside-down indicate that the original configuration of the various parts must have been different. Also on the front binding, two small crosses are fastened to the leather, filling the upper corners between the vertical and horizontal arms of the main cross. Holes appear in the lower corners of the cross's arms, which perhaps once held two additional small crosses. Numerous perforations of different sizes, especially numerous on the reverse of the book, as well as a discoloration in the shape of a cross on the back binding suggest that several additional ornaments must have once been attached to the book cover. Perhaps they were votive offerings. They must have fallen, or been removed, at an unknown point in time. The strong resemblance of the cross and medallions to the few remaining examples of medieval Cilician book-binding decoration suggests that they were part of the original binding crafted at Hromkla, which must have featured additional figures in a grander setting. Grigor must have salvaged parts of the original binding and other medieval remnants and cobbled them together.[14] The new binding of the Zeytun Gospels was thus a portable treasury, a museum of sacred fragments. Grigor admonished his fellow priests, "brothers . . . hold this Gospels with a cloth and do not handle it with unwashed hands."[15]

The next colophon, unfortunately undated, paints a picture of a Furnus devastated at the hands of "the lawless," who sacked the town and extorted exorbitant taxes from the populace. Those with no resources were beaten and imprisoned until they despaired

and "abjured their faith." Priests had no recourse but to sell off the church's valuables. Thus the bishop of Furnus sold Roslin's Gospels to a certain Mahdesi Hagop, an act witnessed by priests and notables of Furnus and Zeytun. Hagop, deeply aware of the Gospels' importance, wrote a colophon forbidding anyone to buy and sell the manuscript thereafter.

> Preserve this Gospel Book . . . because it has come down to us from the time of the kings . . . we have heard that this Gospel Book has realized many miracles . . . whoever was unworthy who opened it and read it, it did not turn out well for him. . . . Fathers and brothers! Open it with awe, and read it with veneration . . . and pray for Mahdesi Hagop and his spouse Anna and his dead [relatives].[16]

Hagop deposited the Gospels in the Church of the Holy Mother of God. While he does not say where that church was located, one assumes it was the church of that name in Zeytun.[17] For if Furnus had been devastated, there was nowhere to go but up the mountain.

Yet Zeytun was not a safe haven for long. In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Eastern Mediterranean and Anatolia were convulsed by a series of rebellions known as the Jelali Revolts, perhaps related to environmental pressures, which devastated peasant life in the countryside. The Armenian priest Simeon of Poland was one of the rare travelers who ventured to Zeytun in this period, spending one night there in 1617 on his way back from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and before heading to Sis. Even though he observed six churches and one monastery, Zeytun impressed him as a place in decline. He learned that there were once eight hundred Armenian households in Zeytun, yet only thirty had remained. "Because of the Jelalis, they have been scattered far and wide and hunted down."[18]

Thus Roslin's Gospels came to Zeytun at an unknown point in time in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. The holy book was to remain there as a treasured relic, unknown to the wider world, only

to be rediscovered in the late Ottoman period. By then the manuscript had acquired a new function and meaning in a town very different from the opulent patriarchal court where it was created.

By the nineteenth century, the remote town on the mountain was caught in the great transitions that marked the late Ottoman Empire, as the community along with the natural landscape underwent rapid transformation brought about by the empire's modernization. The empire's administration integrated Zeytun into the province of Aleppo. The province's capital, Aleppo, was an ancient city layered with monuments, an economic hub, and a vibrant cultural and intellectual center that boasted a heterogeneous and multilingual population. In the provincial hierarchy, the inland town of Marash came next, as the seat of a district that comprised the subdistrict of Zeytun.[19]

Demographic estimates of Zeytun's population in the late Ottoman period vary, in a telling indication of the struggle between the townspeople and the bureaucracies that sought to inventory and tax the town. In 1863 a French diplomat, who gave the figures of 10,080 Christians and 370 Muslims for Zeytun town alone, noted that "the Zeytunlu constantly sought to disguise the real number of the population in their district, fearing that the Ottoman authorities would take advantage of [that information] in order to demand greater taxes."[20] Thus the local population may have had an incentive to underreport the number of residents in order to cut down on taxes owed. Elsewhere, the census conducted by the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul in 1878–80 supplies figures, for Zeytun town alone, that show a different reality: number of Armenians, 17,600; number of Muslims, 240.[21] On the basis of this and other information, scholars favor an estimate of 20,000 Armenians in Zeytun on the eve of World War I.[22] While pinpointing an exact number may not be possible, the various figures and their discrepancies do nevertheless reveal some facts. Within the town of Zeytun, the Armenians

formed the majority by far. They were mostly Apostolic Christians, with small Protestant and Catholic groups. The countryside around the town comprised Muslim communities of diverse backgrounds. This Armenian majority and the town's unique culture distinguished Zeytun among Ottoman Armenian communities.

Like Cilicia as a whole, the ecology and economy of the mountain was in flux in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to subsistence agriculture, the dwellers of Zeytun engaged in viticulture, blacksmithing, and muleteering.[23] The harsh climate and rugged terrain of the mountain imposed particular practices. For example, yoghurt was only available one month out of the year, since the difficult terrain in the town's vicinity did not allow grazing for a longer period, limiting the ready availability of fresh dairy products. Instead of yogurt, so popular on the plain, Zeytun's cuisine thus relied on cheeses—more easily preserved.[24] The Zeytuntsis changed their cultivated products to adjust to new pressures, switching from the cultivation of olives, which had conferred their town's name, to the cultivation of the vine sometime in the nineteenth century.[25] Indeed, by 1911 not a single olive tree remained in the town named olive.[26] Of the new crops, the raisins of Zeytun earned special praise, as did the famed local *oghi* (or *arak*, a distilled alcoholic beverage made from grapes). Even a French diplomat praised Zeytun's eau-de-vie and its white wine, describing it as "*doux et capiteux*" (sweet and heady).[27]

The iron mines of Berit Mountain were key to the town's economy. The mountain and the work of mining and manufacture permeated Zeytun culture. Many local men worked as miners as well as blacksmiths, who were famously skilled at fashioning weapons. Networks of muleteers transported manufactured metal objects throughout the region.[28] Berit Mountain's iron mines created a subterranean maze where terrifying sounds could be heard.[29] A poem underscored the affection and awe that the mountain inspired:

The partridge sings from your summit
No one can know your age
They extract iron from your rocks
You [provide] work that is profitable, Berit
. . . .
To those who enter your mines
To those who attain their wishes
Your snowstorms and rain and blizzards
Are such a catastrophe, Berit![30]

As the nineteenth century progressed, Zeytuntsi reliance on the iron mines decreased as they faced stiff competition from imported finished metal products.[31] In addition to economic change, society was also in flux. Despite its remote location, the town was more integrated into the world than before. Zeytuntsis observed that infectious diseases like smallpox ravaged their town at increasingly rapid rates, and they viewed new public health measures, such as the mass vaccination of children by city doctors, with great suspicion.[32] Even religious life was coping with change. Catholic and Protestant missionaries had made inroads among Zeytuntsis, securing converts and creating new religious institutions, threatening the traditional hegemony of the Apostolic Church. In addition to forms of Christianity spread by European and American missionaries, there were also novel local religious movements, such as the enigmatic formation known as the Muhabbetji or Siragan (the Friends), which seem to have transcended society's religious lines, attracting Armenians as well as Kurds, Turkmens, and Circassians and disrupting social norms, which earned them violent suppression by the state.[33]

As the Ottoman state moved toward greater modernization and centralization, and as the mountain's customary networks came under increasing pressure from economic change, they came into conflict. The 1860s constituted a watershed in Zeytun's history. Prior to that point, Zeytun's townspeople, the pastoral tribes of the

mountain, and the Ottoman state were involved in "a complex triangular relationship."[34] Just as the state sought to extend its authority on the mountain, the Zeytuntsis and the mountain tribes sought to protect their semi-independence, competing over resources among themselves, with endlessly shifting alliances and frictions. The 1860s heralded a shift in the state's policy, based on a drive for greater centralization that emanated from the Ottoman state's own reforms (known as the *tanzimat*). Abrupt demographic change compounded this process, as the settlement in the region around Zeytun and Marash of around thirty thousand Muslim Circassians from the North Caucasus added population pressures to the balance of power in northern Cilicia. Beginning in the 1860s, a string of armed confrontations opposed Zeytun to the state. While the extent and impact of the clashes varied, they brought Zeytun to the attention of the Ottoman state and European diplomacy. European powers found ways to intervene in Zeytun, ostensibly as protectors of Eastern Christians and of the Catholic missionaries active in the area, but also to advance their long-term geopolitical goals in the Middle East.

The late nineteenth century also saw major transformations within the Ottoman Armenian community more broadly. The Armenian National Constitution, instituted in 1863, modernized the regulation of the community's religious, educational, and political structures. In addition to institutional change, clandestine revolutionary groups with a diversity of aims also formed. In terms of the local political dynamics, the notables of Zeytun engaged in a balancing act to maintain their power and control over resources, negotiating with each other, other social groups on the mountain, and Ottoman officialdom. Within the larger Ottoman Armenian community they also had to contend with religious institutions such as the Patriarchate in Istanbul and the Catholicosate of Cilicia in nearby Sis, as well as the emerging militant political formations. The protracted struggle between the centralizing Ottoman authority and Zeytun culminated in the 1895–96 insurrection.

The insurrection rested on a temporary alliance between the chieftains of Zeytun and operatives of the revolutionary Social Democrat Hunchakian Party. The events of 1895–96 engulfed the surrounding communities on the mountain, involved thousands of Ottoman soldiers from various military units, and concluded with a treaty between Zeytun and the state brokered by European diplomats. Thousands perished and countless Ottoman soldiers froze in their winter camp on the windswept mountain.[35]

The confrontations between the people of the mountain and the Ottoman state reverberated throughout the empire and beyond, through newspaper accounts, official reports, and rumors. Outsiders in the Ottoman cities as well as Europe discovered Zeytun through such representations and came to view it in a romantic light, as "heroic," as an "Eagle's nest," even as an "Armenian Montenegro," a reputation that continues to endure.[36] Reality was not so alluring, however. Cumulatively, the clashes between the state and the peoples of the mountain eroded Zeytun's privileges and brought it under greater state control rather than ensuring its continued autonomy. The insurrection of 1895, billed as a victory for the Armenians, resulted instead in their submission. In the big picture, the 1895 events in Zeytun were but one aspect of the Ottoman state's broader drive to consolidate its rule in Cilicia, along with the forced sedentarization of pastoral nomads, the settlement of Circassian refugees, and the purge or cooptation of local leaders.[37] The "triangular relationship" of the early nineteenth century now gave way to a starker configuration, where frequent conflicts opposed Muslims against Armenians. Religious identity appears to have become primary to the detriment of the many other kinds of identities and interests that had long motivated the communities on the mountain.[38]

SPACE, CULTURE, AND RELIGION ON THE MOUNTAIN

In the late Ottoman period, the people on the mountain lived among the ruins of the medieval past. Even if they had forgotten their original names, the old stones remained meaningful and sometimes sacred to them. The vestiges of the medieval past loomed over them as they inhabited the mountainous landscape and crafted the town. The past cast its shadow on their lifestyles—such as their annual migration routes, the inherited ancient grazing agreements between the Cilician lords and the Ramadanids of Adana, and their social formations that defied easy categorization.[39] Many of the communities on the mountain descended from medieval ancestors, and along with newcomers occupied spaces and structures imbued with history. Different communities maintained distinct relationships with the past. Some communities had abandoned the religion of their forebears yet fiercely maintained ancient linguistic and religious traditions, all bound up in local lore. Thus on the Taurus Mountains there were villages of "Armenian-speaking Turks," as well as clans that comprised split Armenian and Turkish (or Christian and Muslim) branches. There were histories of alternating alliances and rifts between Zeytuntsis and Turkmen groups.[40] The local Avshar tribe was said to be previously Armenian, which is why it retained a friendship toward Armenians, and "to this day their wives make the sign of the cross on the bread dough before baking it."[41] Historical, economic, and kinship ties knitted groups together, who also insisted on demarcating social boundaries through practices of endogamy and territoriality. On a daily basis, myriad individual practices, traditions, and choices upheld or challenged these conventions.

While the medieval fortresses fell into ruins following the fall of the Cilician kings and princes, the churches and monasteries on the mountain functioned without interruption thanks to the institutional continuity of the Armenian Apostolic Church. It fell to the priests,

then, to preserve the remains of the medieval kingdom, becoming repositories of sacred and profane knowledge as well as custodians of precious objects, icons, manuscripts, and documents. The monasteries that dotted the Taurus Mountains boasted histories steeped in Christian lore; their founders, it was said, were no less than the Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew. Such was the Monastery of the Holy Redeemer, one and a half hour's march east of Zeytun, near what is today the hamlet of Ilıca. Also an Apostolic legacy, the Monastery of Saint Garabed (Saint John the Precursor) in nearby Furnus held a treasure trove of manuscripts, including Byzantine-era Greek manuscripts, that recorded the history of the mountain, stories of famine, plagues, and earthquakes. It was from Furnus that Roslin's Gospels had come to Zeytun. During the insurrection of 1895, the Ottoman army burned the monastery at Furnus to the ground, and this repository of the layers of the mountain's history was consigned to flames.[42] Roslin's Gospels escaped this fate, having fled centuries earlier from Furnus to Zeytun.

Closer still was the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God, about twenty minutes by foot to the east of Zeytun, beyond the ravine. Within its walls the frigid waters of the Spring of the Martyr possessed curative powers.[43] The monastery preserved the relic of the right hand of Saint Ananias as well as numerous ancient manuscripts, some with richly carved bindings.[44] The monastery's abbot also served as the Prelate of Zeytun and exerted great authority among Zeytuntsis. While it was revered as "built by Apostles," the military advantages of the monastery's location suggest that it may have been of relatively recent vintage, perhaps dating from the sixteenth century, like Zeytun.[45] Around 1895 the monastery housed a community of thirty monks and included an active scriptorium.[46] On the same militarily strategic ridge overlooking Zeytun, across the ravine from one of Zeytun's entry points and twenty minutes from the monastery, the Ottoman state built barracks in 1879 in an attempt to control the restless town.[47] The two-story barracks featured forti-

fied corners and walls that were one and a half meters thick; it also featured special openings for artillery. Most of the 450 vertical loopholes for rifles in the walls were placed on the side facing Zeytun. A small Muslim community settled next to the barracks, setting up houses, a bath, a mosque, and a cemetery, as well as the all-important telegraph building to keep the authorities apprised of any sign of trouble.[48] The barracks was the scene of intense confrontations in 1895. The rebels occupied it and made it their headquarters.[49] Remnants of the barracks are today integrated in a building in the small village of Kışla (which means "barracks"; see Prologue).

To those who knew to read the signs, the environs of Zeytun constituted a sanctified landscape, full of powerful places and blessed objects whose potency could be activated with the right rituals at propitious times. The Armenians made a pilgrimage to the long-ruined Monastery of Saint John the Precursor, located opposite the still-functioning Monastery of the Redeemer near Ilıca on the day of the dead following the Feast of Vardavar.[50] Zeytuntsis named and revered some of the boulders that dot the landscape surrounding their town.[51] The Hermit's Cave, a natural feature, was a pilgrimage spot for women unable to conceive. Elders told of the hermit who had lived there long ago, who every time Zeytuntsis fought in battle appeared among them fully armed and riding a white horse.[52]

Berit Mountain above Zeytun inspired both affection and fear. Its lush vegetation included trees like pine, juniper, walnut, and gall oak (*Quercus lusitanica*) and over two hundred types of plants and flowers, and it was home to birds like partridges, which Zeytuntsis hunted for food, as well as larger animals like ibex, lynx, panther, and boar.[53] While the mountain provided food and employment through its mines, it also inspired fear. Its winters were harsh and no one could predict when it would unleash its famous *boran* (snowstorm). The terrifying blizzard of December 9, 1895, occurred precisely at a tense point during the insurrection, devastating the Ottoman army that laid siege to the insurgents. In nature's fury Zeytuntsis recognized

the hand of God: "Our God hides above Berit Mountain. He has come to our aid."[54]

On the cardinal points of the town's outer perimeter, four rocks bore copper crosses. Called *khachkar*s (cross-stones), they marked the town's invisible boundaries and prevented enemies from crossing into Zeytun.[55] Near the eastern bridge was the famed fountain of Bagh-Aghpyur. Commissioned by a certain Kara-Boyaji from Marash, it is today the most conspicuous remnant of old Zeytun. It consists of a large arch that contains three smaller arches with three faucets, once graced by a carved inscription, cross, and ornaments.[56]

Zeytun town itself resembles a steeply tilted triangle. Deep ravines border it to the east and the west, and the sound of the rapids that flow through them fills the air, supplying the origin of one of the rapids' names: "*shghur*" was a local pronunciation of *jkhor* (tumult, roar).[57] To the north, an enormous rocky outcrop called Kerdzer (translatable as "rock-edge") boxed Zeytun in. Within these boundaries, the town was perched on a steep terrain.

Rare photographs taken around 1911 show Zeytun's vernacular architecture.[58] Due to the almost vertical nature of the town, the houses appear densely stacked one above the other, as in an amphitheater. The most thorough textual description of domestic architecture is that of a French diplomat in 1863, who observed that the homes, built of sundried brick and wood, were generally two stories. The ground floor was reserved for storage and stabling. The upper story contained a *divankhaneh*, an open gallery or balcony, accessed through precarious wooden stairs. The upper story also featured two or three dark rooms, with a small skylight as the only light source. Roofs were flat, made of earth mixed with straw, and served as open-air bedrooms during the summer heat.[59] The houses generally faced south.[60] Built and maintained by the families themselves, the domestic architecture figures in genocide survivors' eyewitness narratives: "Our houses in Zeytoun were built of good wood."[61] Urban density made movement possible both in the narrow streets and on the roof-

tops: "The houses are so close to each other, that it is easy to jump from street to street and from house to house even for a little boy."[62]

The homes formed the material fabric of the town's social organization. Zeytun was divided into four neighborhoods of uneven size, each under the control of one of the four local notable clans.[63] Each neighborhood had at least one church. Early in the nineteenth century Zeytun had boasted eight Apostolic churches; by the close of the century, five were still active.[64] In addition, new converts had built a Catholic church and a Protestant meeting house.[65] The citadel and its surroundings constituted the town's oldest section, known as the Surenian neighborhood, after its princely family, or descriptively as the Middle Quarter.[66] The citadel was built on top of a cliff that overlooked the ravine of the Shghur River about one hundred meters, or some 328 feet, below.[67] Rebuilt many times on an ancient base of cut stones, the citadel featured a bay that projected out of its southern façade, hanging over the precipice below.[68] It offered dominating views of Zeytun and the surrounding countryside. The Church of the Holy Mother of God formed the neighborhood's religious focus. Among its relics was the Zeytun Gospels.

To the north stood the Upper Quarter, dominated by the Yenidünyayan or Norashkharhian clan, and centered on Saint Gregory the Illuminator Church. The Shovroyan family controlled the neighborhood of Bozbayır ("rough slope"), centered on the Church of Saint John. Finally, the neighborhood of Gargalar (from the Turkish *kargalar*, "crows"), or Lower Quarter, belonged to the clan Yaghubian, with the church of Saint Sarkis as well as a chapel, Holy Archangel.[69] While religiously and socially central to the town's life, the churches struck outsiders as architecturally unremarkable if not downright unattractive: "Their interiors are dark, dirty, and entirely inelegant for being a place of worship."[70] To my knowledge, not a single photograph of any of these churches exists. The churches, along with most of the city, burned down during the great fire of 1884 and were subsequently rebuilt.

In each quarter, priests traditionally ran parochial schools. By the turn of the century, additional schools appeared and became vectors of modernization in Zeytun. Armenian educational organizations at the imperial capital helped fund them and provided some of the teachers.[71] Notable Zeytuntsi intellectuals like the novelist and political activist Sempad Pyurad began their studies at these neighborhood schools and pursued their education at secondary schools in regional cities like Marash or Aintab, or at Istanbul.

Other amenities of modern life slowly made their way to Zeytun. While in 1863 the French diplomat remarked on the lack of any shops in town, by the 1890s a lively central market existed at the edge of the Surenian, or citadel quarter, comprising sixty shops; one hundred and twenty shops were counted in 1903.[72] Other amenities included two bakeries, thirty fountains, and a single coffeehouse.[73] Yet in other respects the town remained provincial, the first resident physician arriving as late as 1900.[74]

By the late Ottoman period, even though Armenians continued to dominate the town, some Muslim families also lived there.[75] The construction of barracks across the ravine in the year 1879 prompted the development of a suburban neighborhood around it, populated mostly by Muslims transplanted from elsewhere, which included the city's appointed officials, the commander of the barracks, the imam of the mosque, and a kadi, or Muslim judge.[76]

Zeytun's sense of independence or autonomy was bolstered by its internal, informal system of governance, which operated outside of, and parallel to formal government institutions. It was not unusual in the Ottoman countryside for real power to be exerted by local notable families or households, atavistic vestiges of local, feudal systems that continually renewed their sources of wealth and prestige, through customary violence if necessary. What made Zeytun unique in this regard were the terms that described the notables; the elaborate informal system of consultation among them, the clerics, and the adult males of Zeytun; the ability of the Zeytuntsis to mobilize

violently in pursuit of their interests; and most of all, the fact that this informal power was exerted by Armenian Christians rather than by Muslims, and over both Christians and Muslims.

The French diplomat described a complex system of consultation in 1863. The heads of the four notables houses, in addition to elders chosen by them to represent each of the four neighborhoods, together constituted a council. The heads of the four houses convened this council on solemn occasions. Exceptionally, the Prelate of Zeytun (that is, the abbot of the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God outside the town) also attended the meetings, and while he could offer his opinion he had no vote. For the most important decisions, the council consulted the "people"—presumably meaning the adult males of the town—and the decision of the council always followed the majority opinion.[77] Official Ottoman sources make no mention of this council, nor of the notable families.

The notable houses in Zeytun always numbered four. To describe them, Armenians most often used the term *ishkhan*, or "prince," and on occasion, terms such as *taghabed* (neighborhood head) and *pertader* ("lord of the citadel," used only for the Surenian ishkhan).[78] In Turkish, these men were called *dört derebeyler* (four feudal lords), beys, or aghas.[79] The ishkhans "were everything in Zeytun: judges, warriors, politicians, merchants, and landowners."[80] Accompanied by twelve men at all times, they upheld traditions of generosity and justice and did not hesitate to enforce their supremacy through violence. The ishkhans dispensed a harsh justice and seemingly had power of life and death over their subjects. Criminals could be beaten, even killed, sent to the monastery for a time, or banished permanently. The ishkhans mediated between the people of the mountain and the Ottoman government by levying official state taxes, but they also extracted their own informal "horses' oat-tax," or *arpalık*, about one twentieth of the harvest. Their territory extended from their designated neighborhoods within Zeytun to villages and lands in the surrounding areas. The princes followed the rhythm of agriculture in

the mountain by spending the summers at higher altitudes, grazing their animals. The rest of the year they held court at their homes in town, which also served as administrative center, barracks, and tribunal. They hosted large daily meals for members of their extended family, as well as clients and guests.

The princes maintained hierarchical relations among themselves as well as with noble families in other localities, and accepted yearly gifts of horses, furs, and carpets from retainers. The hierarchy among ishkhans was made visible through the order of precedence of seating arrangements at meetings and receptions.[81] When an ishkhan died, his followers, priests, and other ishkhans ensured the line's continuity by choosing his eldest son or brother and installing him in the household's reception area as successor.[82]

The Armenian-language sources on Zeytun accord great importance to the genealogy and history of the four notable households. The lords of the citadel, the Surenians, claimed to be the oldest house, having established dominance in the town since the mid-sixteenth century. They comprised seven branches divided into thirty houses. The Surenians, who had a privileged relationship with Roslin's Gospels, traced their origins to Kogh Vasil (Basil the Brigand), from whom they derived their alternative surname of Vasilosian or Basilosian.[83] Basil (d. ca. 1112) was one of the earliest Armenian lords of Cilicia, a contemporary of Ruben I (d. 1095), founder of the dynasty that later ruled the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. Based in Berdus (Bertiz in Turkish), east of Zeytun, Basil's piratical ways earned him his colorful sobriquet, though the medieval chronicles also gave him the title of *ishkhan* or *ishkhanats ishkhan* (prince of princes).[84] Perhaps the unusual use of the term *ishkhan* in late Ottoman Zeytun, as well as the occasional venture into brigandage, were thus legacies from Basil, yet another medieval remnant.

A rare photograph showing one of Basil's progeny, Nazaret Surenian (d. between 1865 and 1875), constitutes the only surviving photographic record of a member of this clan. The grainy image

shows a seated man with a short white beard, looking to his left, attired in a combination of modern and traditional elements: a Western-style great coat, a chain for a pocket watch that is not visible, as well as an opulent shawl belt and colorful turban around his head. The photograph's original is presumed lost. Surenian's portrait is part of a set representing the four princes, apparently photographed at the studio of Abdullah Frères, the famous Armenian photographers in Istanbul, in nearly identical dress and pose. This rare record was made when the four heads of the princely households were forcibly removed to Istanbul for a three-month period following a major clash with the Ottoman authorities in 1862 that brought Zeytun to international attention and prompted the intervention of Napoleon III.[85]

The system of four notables maintained its balance through constant negotiation with the Ottoman state, the competition among the families, and the actions of those subjected to their power. The princely families may have given an appearance of stability, continuity, and legitimacy, yet these values were maintained through ceaseless competition and adjustment and were not immune to change. Thus the Yenidünyayan (the name means "new world") family instigated a bloody confrontation against the older Apartian clan and commandeered the latter's princely position toward the end of the eighteenth century.[86] By the time of the 1895 insurrection, the Surenians and the Yenidünyayans commanded the greatest authority among the four households, the former through their wealth and links with the Ottoman government, and the latter because of their larger numbers and military prowess, which had earned them employment with the state, including even the Ottoman cavalry.[87]

The insurrection of 1895 was predicated on the momentary alignment of interests between the feudal order of the ishkhans and the modern revolutionary struggle of the Hunchakian Party. The young Hunchak leader of the insurrection remained conscious of the fragility of this alliance: "I was aware that I was the head and heart of Zeytun, but I also was their hostage. I was convinced that if

we had failed, they would have cut off my head."[88] The contrast was stark between the educated, westernized Hunchaks with their socialist ideology, and the often illiterate ishkhans, who with their traditional prerogatives and local knowledge appeared akin to "primitive rebels." The ishkhan ethos is exemplified in a key leader of the 1895 insurrection, the thirty-two-year-old Nazaret Yenidünyayan. Written and photographic sources paint him as larger than life, a charismatic and handsome man of great moral authority and physical prowess, rugged, fearless, and skilled in battle. He removed a bullet from his own knee after a confrontation in the early days of the rebellion. Riding a magnificent horse, the young ishkhan, addressed as *çavuş* (sergeant), wore an Ottoman uniform with a decoration of the Mecidiye order that the state had bestowed on him, even as he rebelled against it. As savvy and intelligent as Nazaret Ishkhan was, he was also impulsive, engaged in constant competition with other notables, was prone to manipulation by others, and sometimes became ensnared in vendettas with other lords due to his dalliances with other men's wives or daughters.[89]

The ishkhan system and the town's warlike spirit imbued the local vernacular culture. The famed epic songs of Zeytun reflect the town's warrior ethos. Typically in Turkish, a fraction of them were written down, preserving their lyrics though not their music. Many describe battles and include boasts:

> This is mighty Zeytun, the den of Lions![90]

or,

> Let me but get on my gray horse, I'll show [you] what fighting and brawling is![91]

The mountain bards also composed lyrical verses about summer pastures, descriptions of landscape (as in the poem about Berit Mountain quoted above), and love poetry:

> My beloved, if I entered your bed in the snow, the winter would turn into summer for me![92]

In addition to their poetic sensibility and martial spirit, Zeytuntsis' religious piety impressed outsiders. Sacred sites were everywhere. God and the saints intervened in their affairs by appearing among the people or inspiring dreams. Holy images and objects functioned not only as devotional aids but as active participants in the city's most trying experiences.

The Zeytun Gospels participated in Zeytun's battles, as priests took it out of the treasury and paraded it in city streets.[93] Zeytuntsis attached great significance to the fact that the decisive battle of the 1862 conflict had taken place on August 14, the Feast of the Virgin.[94] They took out a special icon they called the "Khach-Alem" (cross-flag), an image of the Crucifixion mounted on a pole, and processed on the hills surrounding Zeytun.[95] The Cross-Flag was believed brought to Zeytun from Jerusalem, acquiring a holy provenance. They also brought out an oil painting of the Virgin kept in the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God, to participate in battles.[96] Finally, a priest carried the sacred Gospels of Basil the Brigand into the fray.[97] These invocations clearly produced the desired result, as Saint Sarkis himself came to the rescue, riding his white horse among the Zeytuntsi braves.[98] With such celestial support, the Zeytuntsis prevailed in the battle of 1862.

The sacred continued to be present in the midst of battle. On December 3, 1895, a Sunday, the Zeytuntsis prepared for battle. "They came out of Zeytun, preceded by their Cross-Flag, the parish priests wearing their mass vestments, the women wearing black . . . they had all taken communion" in preparation for death.[99] The Zeytuntsis deployed astonishing military abilities, well suited for guerilla warfare in the mountains, in an asymmetrical conflict that opposed mountaineers with antiquated rifles to the Ottoman imperial army with all its might. Their battle cry was, "Ya Sı Pırgiç!" (O Holy Redeemer!).[100]

Zeytun's monastery and churches may have left much to be desired architecturally, yet within these modest structures religious experiences of great intensity took place, enhanced by sacred objects of tremendous artistic, historical, and liturgical value. Of these sacred objects, only Roslin's Gospels has survived. Among Zeytun's relics of saints and apostles, icons, and holy books both ancient and recent, the Gospels of Basil the Brigand, named after the medieval lord associated with the Surenian house, once held a special place. Commissioned by the medieval prince who used it to swear oaths, the manuscript possessed supernatural powers. On feast days and during times of danger, it was removed from its box and presented to the congregation with great ceremony, as on a day in 1865 that so impressed the French traveler Léon Paul.[101] Following what they believed to be Basil's example, Zeytuntsis swore oaths on this Gospel Book on solemn occasions.[102] The twelfth-century manuscript had a silver binding and was kept in Bozbayır's Saint John Church.[103] The Shovroyan princes of that quarter were the manuscript's custodians. Like Roslin's Gospels, the Gospels of Basil was a medieval relic that had arrived in Zeytun as a last resort, after the destruction of its previous home. Thus the Gospels of Basil had likely migrated along with the Shovroyans from Berdus, Basil's old stronghold, which was no longer inhabited by Armenians but rather by Armenian-speaking Turks.[104] Yet even sacred objects were not immune to danger. In the devastating fire of September 8, 1884, flames consumed the Gospels of Basil.[105] The destruction of almost the entire town in 1884, and again in another fire in 1887, wreaked havoc on Zeytun and contributed to the increased poverty that outsiders observed by the last years of the nineteenth century.

Roslin's Gospels was one of the rare sacred treasures of Zeytun to survive the fires. It emerged apparently unscathed from the fire that consumed the citadel neighborhood, and from the ashes of the Church of the Holy Mother of God where it was kept. The manuscript enjoyed the protection of the Surenian ishkhans while

it resided in their parish church, in an arrangement similar to the Shovroyans' special relationship to the now-lost Gospels of Basil.

Roslin's Gospels played a role in Zeytun's religious and social life, but this did not imply that all Zeytuntsis saw the manuscript. In contrast to some religious signs, like crosses or pious inscriptions that are ubiquitous in public spaces, Roslin's Gospels derived its power in part from the fact that it was rarely accessible and almost never displayed in public. Indeed, the manuscript's value was enhanced by the fact that it was only brought out on the rarest of occasions for the congregants to view, to swear oaths on, or to use in the celebration of Mass. On those occasions when the manuscript was revealed to the congregants, it was held up as an object to be revered. They only saw the holy manuscript during special circumstances on the church calendar, and then only as part of a ritual. Even then, the priest probably raised the book above his head during Mass, allowing the faithful to see it as a closed object with a dazzling binding. The congregants would have seen the images of the crucifix affixed to its front and back, made of "pure gold."[106] Even if the book was opened during a ritual, Roslin's paintings were probably never shown publicly to large groups. The faithful as individuals could not touch, examine, manipulate, or read the book. Only priests could open it, observe its pages closely, and read aloud from it. Apart from priests, rare individuals were granted the privilege of leafing through the manuscript and viewing its illustrations, most likely respected men like the ishkhans, parish elders, visiting scholars, and dignitaries. This in turn explains the good state of preservation of the manuscript over the centuries: it was rarely handled.

Beyond these ritual occasions for display, a few learned visitors to Zeytun were granted the privilege of seeing the manuscript. One of them, viewing the relic before the fire of 1884, described a very beautiful Gospels calligraphed on parchment, with illustrations and ornaments laced with gold. "It is a venerable antiquity," he wrote, and expressed a modern scholar's concern and hope that "they"

would preserve it with the utmost care.[107] Another visitor, in the summer of 1907, was able to examine the manuscript more closely, recognizing its age, place of creation, and artistic significance.[108] For another, the paintings of the Evangelists were done in "an admirable manner," and the "beauty and natural appearance" of peacocks and other animals incited wonder.[109]

Roslin's Gospels was accessible to only a few, yet its presence and its powers imbued the town. The people of Zeytun participated in the upkeep of the church where it resided. Following the fires, all the inhabitants of the quarter contributed funds according to their means to help rebuild it.[110] Two members of the Basilosian clan (a branch of the Surenians) contributed the significant sums of one hundred Ottoman gold coins each, underscoring their privileged connection to the parish church. An architect came from Marash to design the new structure, and two artists arrived from Kayseri to paint icons, completing the project by 1892. The notable clan and the church were so identified with each other that when the ishkhan Garabed Agha Basilosian died in 1899, he was interred in the church. Moreover, the citadel church was not only a religious structure. It could fulfill political functions as well during times of crisis. Thus on October 19, 1895, at a high point in the insurrection, the leaders of Zeytun and environs gathered in the church on the citadel to organize a provisional government.[111]

Not only was Roslin's Gospel Book used as a liturgical object in Zeytun, but the social world of Zeytun became part of the manuscript itself. Indeed, after its arrival in Zeytun, priests added to the older colophons written by Roslin himself, then Grigor son of Vartan, and Mahdesi Hagop. They noted important events and included warnings, commands, and exhortations. They wrote three colophons over the course of the nineteenth century in an increasingly vernacular language and in a less educated hand. Those dated 1852 and 1859 record incursions of the Ottoman army, which "came upon us." The colophons record the numbers of dead and the names

of localities at which the Ottoman advance was stopped, and give thanks to God for allowing Zeytun to prevail. The last colophon exhorts, "Be informed of this."[112]

The colophons reveal the Gospels as a record of Zeytun's own history. Sacred it surely was, but it was never considered a static object. To the contrary, the holy book accrued meaning through the accumulated inscriptions by priests. Through the colophons, learned or vernacular, brief or expansive, nearly illegible or calligraphic, the communities that used the Gospels made it their own. They inscribed their history on to it, and they inserted themselves into the pages of the sacred. With these colophons the manuscript also became a repository of Zeytun's historical memory.

The Gospel Book and its community interacted in other ways as well. The holy book was drawn into the evolving, sometimes contested relationships between the state, the church, the notable families, and the broader population. The declaration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908 and its greater promise for political participation for all citizens cast a shadow on Zeytun and on the Gospels as well.[113] The precise location of the Gospels within the church and the question of who could have access to it was renegotiated. Indeed, the "entire people of Zeytun" insisted that the ishkhan share the custody of what was by then the only surviving ancient religious artifact within Zeytun town. Consequently, Asadur Agha of the Surenian-Basilosian clan (the son of Garabed, who was buried in the Church of the Holy Mother of God on the citadel almost a decade prior) devised a new arrangement for the custody of the manuscript with the vestry, or body of lay members, who ran the church. The ishkhan still retained the greater share of power as the permanent chairman of the parish council. Now, however, a hidden compartment was carved into the northern wall of the church's baptism chamber.[114] The Gospels was placed into an iron box with two locks and deposited in the hidden niche. The key to one lock remained with the ishkhan, while the church council kept the other. This ensured that

controlling access to the Gospels was shared between the church and its lay leadership on the one hand, and the lord of the citadel on the other. That the location and access to the manuscript had become subject to renegotiation gives us a sense of the dynamic inner workings of Zeytun society after 1908, but it also indicates that Zeytuntsis were aware of the manuscript's importance and insisted that responsibility for it be shared among the customary secular and religious authorities of the town.

By then it had become clear that the Gospels was not only an object Zeytuntsis revered but also a relic outsiders coveted. Indeed, sometime in the 1880s, the Monsignor of the Catholic Armenians of Marash attempted to purchase the Gospels, offering its weight in gold, which was around 2.5 *okka*s, that is, just over seven pounds (around 3.2 kilograms).[115] The notables and people of Zeytun rebuffed the offer.

The function and meaning of Roslin's Gospels in Zeytun were predicated on liturgical, architectural, and social contexts. On the mountain, the manuscript functioned as a liturgical object rather than a work of art for the people of Zeytun. This contrasted with the manner in which outsiders tended to view it, as a valuable antiquity for the intellectuals from Istanbul, or as a coveted treasure for the Monsignor of Marash. The focus of special reverence, the Gospels was kept in a special, secret compartment of the Church of the Holy Mother of God on the citadel, and was only taken out on special occasions. Thus while the parishioners of the church, and probably most if not all Zeytuntsis, were aware of the existence of the ancient and powerful relic, they only saw the holy manuscript on rare occasions and as part of a ritual. They saw it as a closed book with a glorious binding, whose power derived in part from its very inaccessibility to view. Following momentous events, priests recorded short historical notices on the book's leaves. The Zeytun Gospels was at once sacred relic, liturgical object, patrimony, repository of memory, and treasure.

WAR AND EXILE

A description of Asadur Agha Surenian at the beginning of the twentieth century painted a timeless portrait of the ishkhan, Zeytun's wealthiest landowner.[116] They said he owned as many cultivated fields, orchards, gardens, farms, and villages as there are days of the year. On any given evening he would be ensconced on the southern porch of his mansion on the citadel, seated cross-legged on a sofa covered with sea silk.[117] Servants attended him as he smoked the water pipe and drank *oghi* (a distilled alcoholic beverage) made of his own grapes. From the porch, he could view his own citadel neighborhood, the rest of Zeytun, the alpine valley at the foot of the town, the mountains that encircled it, and the entire panorama of Zeytun, with its sacred places, cultivated fields, and wild forests. This image of power and stability proved ephemeral, however. The war disrupted the social order that held up the ishkhan's power, and the genocide wiped out his community, his culture, and his religion from Zeytun.

From the late nineteenth century to the opening months of World War I, the fate of the "Eagle's nest" was entwined in the evolving political position of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. Officials of the Ottoman state capitalized on their ability to selectively bestow official rewards and punishments, to inflame the traditional rivalries and cleavages of Zeytun's notable clans to the benefit of the state's central control. At the conclusion of the 1895–96 insurrection, the state bestowed the title of mayor of Zeytun on Nazaret Yenidünyayan, the insurrection's local leader, thus winning him over. Over the next years, as his personal wealth and influence grew, it altered the customary balance of the four princely households.[118] In a photograph from this period, Yenidünyayan poses with great dignity, smoking tobacco from a water pipe, the only person seated, surrounded by retainers standing at attention.[119]

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire experienced the Young Turk Revolution.[120] During July 1908, members

of the political movement called the Committee of Union and Progress compelled Sultan Abdul Hamid II to restore the constitution that he had suspended thirty years previously. The revolution promised to replace the sultan's autocratic regime with rule through a liberal constitution, to institute multiparty politics, to hold elections, to grant equal rights to citizens, and to implement reforms. The revolution's principles of equality, fraternity, and justice, as well as its emphasis on secular politics and reform inspired popular enthusiasm throughout the empire. In accordance with liberal principles, censorship was abolished in favor of freedom of the press and of association. The revolution's promise of equality and citizenship rights held tremendous appeal, in particular for the empire's Armenians, and reverberated all the way to Zeytun.[121] Liberal intellectuals, such as Zeytun's own Sempad Pyurad, returned from exile abroad, full of high expectations for inclusion and reform. They helped usher in a publication boom with hundreds of new newspapers and books where they freely expressed their views. Clandestine political movements came out of the shadows and made themselves into political parties, entering elections.

The Young Turk Revolution met with tremendous resistance, however. In 1909 a counterrevolution in support of the sultan prompted large-scale massacres of Armenians in Adana Province in Cilicia.[122] Muslim neighbors burned Armenian districts in towns and villages and inflicted intense violence on their inhabitants. They also targeted religious and communal institutions like churches and schools, and symbols like icons and religious manuscripts. Thus the massacres of 1909 constituted a historical moment where the religious cultural heritage of Cilicia's Armenian communities was intentionally destroyed as part and parcel of the destruction of people. Even though Zeytun was untouched by the violence, its people learned about the atrocities.

Zeytun, its people, and its remaining sacred objects, like Roslin's Gospels, survived the massacres of 1909. But the worst was still to

come. Visiting Zeytun just a couple of years before the war, W. J. Childs was seized by a feeling of dread: "Emotion enough for tragedy was evident. . . . From the inhabitants' point of view they were on the eve of war [against the Ottoman state]."[123] Zeytuntsi gunsmiths had clandestinely crafted rifles modeled after imported British weapons as people sought to arm themselves against uncertainty.[124]

The Ottoman Empire experienced multiple setbacks, including defeat in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, loss of territory, economic woes, and the ever-present machinations of European powers. Ethnic tensions rose. In 1913 the Committee of Union and Progress took the reins of government in a coup d'état. A junta of Ottoman officers took over the empire. Their increasingly authoritarian rule retreated from the ideals of secularism and brotherhood and emphasized instead the Islamic and Turkish character of the state. Junta members Talaat, Enver, and Cemal led the empire into World War I. Finally setting aside the revolution's ideals of brotherhood, they executed the annihilation of their fellow citizens who were Armenian.

As the Ottoman state entered the war, Zeytun's reputation as a hotbed of resistance came into play again, this time with disastrous consequences for its people. In the summer and fall of 1914, Zeytun like any Ottoman town began to experience the war's effects. Orders of conscription and requisitions followed the arrival of additional Ottoman officials as Zeytun became a conscription center for the area.[125] Able-bodied men were taken away to serve in the Ottoman military, leaving older men, women, and children to bear the brunt of agricultural labor. Reports of ill-treatment of Zeytuntsis in the military made the rounds. Some young men avoided conscription while others, once conscripted, deserted, returned home, and hid in the mountains, putting themselves and their families at risk of reprisals. The presence of the army and the requisitions multiplied the pressures on the people of the mountain; crimes of theft and violence rose, creating a general sense of insecurity.

The Zeytuntsis themselves were divided on how to respond to the crisis brought on by the war. While some advocated resistance or rebellion, the majority argued for compliance with the government's orders. The Ottoman state acted preemptively. By September 1914, Ottoman officials removed Nazaret Yenidünyayan from his post as mayor, as they perceived him as too lenient toward the resistants, and replaced him with the younger Hayk Asmenian.[126] Not long after, they arrested Nazaret and took him to Marash in chains along with a group of Zeytuntsi notables. The last known photograph of the ishkhan shows him with his head bent, at the center of a group of Zeytuntsi captives in Marash prison. The lord of the mountain, who had "once made the Turks tremble," was killed under torture in prison in early October 1914.[127]

Official Turkish historiography and those sympathetic to that view assert that a full-blown uprising took place in Zeytun in 1915 against the Ottoman state, which presented a genuine threat to the empire's very survival. This has also become part of Zeytun lore. However, contemporary official Ottoman and Armenian sources show that this is counterfactual.[128] The resistance in Zeytun was localized and restricted to a group of young men who were deserters, conscription evaders, or bandits. Crucially, there is no evidence that political activists were involved in 1915, in contradistinction to the insurrection of 1895–96.[129] Moreover, the majority of Zeytun's notables and citizenry not only complied with government demands but even assisted the government in putting down the small resistance. In late 1914 and early 1915, Zeytun saw an internal struggle between the rebellious group and the majority "conservatives," with the constant interference of mediators from Marash and elsewhere who pressured the Zeytuntsis to remain quiet.[130] Even the Catholicos in nearby Sis inserted himself into the matter, personally urging the young men to put their trust in the government and give up their arms.[131] The rebels themselves were cleaved into at least three factions.[132] By early March 1915 the young men set themselves up

in the Monastery of the Holy Mother of God, above the barracks. They probably numbered between one hundred and one hundred fifty, with perhaps thirty-five to forty as the primary combatants, with limited weapons.[133] The Ottoman authorities bombarded the monastery, and after a few skirmishes launched a frontal attack on March 25, 1915. The commander of the gendarmes, Major Süleyman, was shot and killed at the monastery's entrance, putting an end to the day's fighting.[134] On the next day, March 26, the Ottoman troops found the monastery deserted of rebels but set fire to it nonetheless. By that time the rebels had already taken to the mountains, where they spent the war years on the run as guerilla fighters.[135]

One of the rebels, Levon Khulmunian, a newly married youth conscripted into the Ottoman army, had bristled at the harsh treatment and deserted, joining the rebel band. He recalled the band's flight: "We left that thousand-year old [monastery] to its fate, with great emotion and pain, with its ancient parchments, its handwritten books, its silver and gold crosses, with the wondrous images of saints carved on the walls and on the holy table [altar]. The next morning we saw the monastery and its nearby village burning."[136] The holy objects that had long protected Zeytun must have burned with the monastery—the Cross-Flag, the miraculous oil painting of the Virgin, all the manuscripts and liturgical objects accumulated since the Middle Ages.

Zeytun's ordeal continued. Despite the fact that the Ottoman authorities successfully put down the minor rebellion, they nevertheless exiled all of the townspeople. In fact Zeytun was one of the first localities where the Ottoman state ordered its Armenian citizens into internal exile: the first wave of deportations took place around the eighth to the tenth of April 1915.[137] This was partly due to broader military concerns. A German officer serving in Ottoman uniform, who participated in the military operation in Zeytun and the deportation of its inhabitants, wrote of his concern about a possible British invasion by sea in the Adana district. He noted, "Zeitoun and Marash are not far from the only communications road for the army

Osmaniye-Islahiye-Radjun, which goes from the district of Adana to Aleppo. The entire area is inhabited heavily by Armenians."[138]

That Zeytun, along with Dört Yol on the Cilician coast, were the first localities to be emptied of their Armenian inhabitants was also related to the fact that both towns had resisted in the past. Indeed, Dört Yol was one of the few localities to successfully resist massacre in 1909. It was also within sight of the Mediterranean. Thus the Ottoman authorities targeted these localities preemptively on the assumption that some of the inhabitants of Zeytun and Dört Yol might choose to resist, or assist the Allies in the event of an amphibious incursion, even though there was no evidence that any of these possibilities would happen.[139]

Soon after the first deportations of early April, any remaining inhabitants of Zeytun were ordered into exile again. On May 6 and 9, 1915, Interior Minister Talaat Pasha sent telegrams ordering any remaining Armenian families to be deported.[140] By mid-June, Zeytun had been emptied of Armenians.[141]

Despite the official rhetoric that the deportees would be compensated according to their wealth and that provisions would be made for their support, in reality the exile of Zeytuntsis went hand in hand with the confiscation of their land and goods. The German officer wrote candidly about the dispossession of the entire population of Zeytun and the corruption inherent in the process: "There were . . . families . . . removed from Zeitoun to be settled near Konia. Their possessions were assessed and confiscated. They are supposed to receive possessions or money of equal value in their new home. The open pockets of the officials will guarantee that they don't stand to gain anything from this business."[142] Moreover, the state transferred the houses and land of Zeytun to new occupants. Indeed, as early as April 20, while the Armenian inhabitants were still in the process of being forced out, the government had begun to resettle Zeytun with Muslim refugees from Macedonia.[143] The speed and efficiency by which the Ottoman government replaced the Armenian popula-

tion of Zeytun with Muslims leaves little doubt that this had been planned ahead.[144]

On June 9, 1915, Zeytun's name was changed to Süleymanlı in memory of the recently killed Major Süleyman.[145] An Ottoman official ordered the destruction of the Armenian inscriptions and carvings on Bagh-Aghpyur, the monumental fountain that marks one of the entrances to Zeytun.[146] However, in August 1915 fire struck again, burning down most of the town and displacing the newly settled Muslims.[147] Levon Khulmunian had made his way back to Zeytun only to discover that his wife and children had vanished, replaced by "refugee Turkish Bosnians." From his mountain hideout, he saw the fire spread from the citadel all the way to Kerdzer, the boulder that separated the town from Berit Mountain. The fire caused bullets that Zeytuntsis had managed to hide in secret places to explode, terrifying the new inhabitants. Levon took this as a sign of God's wrath. He lingered in the woods around Zeytun, alone, unable to abandon the ruins of his hometown.[148]

Away from their mountain, the exiled Zeytuntsis were launched into a series of deportations. They passed through Marash, heading initially toward Konya. They were later redirected to Aleppo and finally pushed to Der Zor in the Syrian desert, where most of them perished.[149] On the road, Zeytun Armenians were targeted for greater cruelties as a mockery of their once-fearsome reputation. Their distinctive speech pattern, recognizable in both Armenian and Turkish, whereby they pronounced their r's as y's, gave them away.[150] A Zeytuntsi survivor composed a poem on the ordeal:

> On a Tuesday they attacked the Armenians . . .
> Girls in white dresses were sold by the cartload . . .
> They pushed bayonets into their eyes . . .
> Children fell on top of the dead
> Children cried "mother, mother" for days . . .
> They made refugees of us, we were brought low . . .
> The Armenian died in misery.[151]

Compared to other localities, a higher percentage of Zeytun Armenians were exterminated. Out of roughly twenty thousand Zeytuntsis, only around two thousand returned to Zeytun at the end of World War I.[152] The exile of Zeytuntsis into a series of displacements that were certain to result in illness, injury, and death for most of them was one aspect of genocide, along with elements such as their dispossession and the takeover of their land. Also part of the genocidal process, and enacted at the same time, was the eradication of Zeytun's culture along with signs of Armenian presence, namely the targeted destruction of religious sites and the inscriptions in the Armenian alphabet, the erasure of place names, and their replacement by new ones. Later, official memory continued to reinforce a narrative that vilified the former Armenian inhabitants of Zeytun, blaming them for their own destruction.

. . .

The last Armenians exiled from Zeytun in 1915 were the government loyalists, including the mayor and members of the Surenian-Basilosian ishkhan clan.[153] They believed they would be exempted from deportation as a reward for their support of the government against the rebels. Bab Agha Surenian exemplified their viewpoint. The older notable had joined the rebellion of 1895–96, yet in 1915 he was disinclined to resist, perhaps out of fatigue or out of pragmatism, recognizing that the Zeytuntsis' flintlock and Martini rifles were no match for the Ottoman army's modern German weaponry: "This is already the 36th war. Is there no one else who will fight? We are the fools of the [Armenian] nation. This time let others go and fight—we will stay."[154] The decision not to resist later earned them the harsh judgment of their fellow townspeople.[155]

However, not long after Zeytun was emptied, the loyal faction too was ordered to leave Zeytun. On his way out of his hometown, Asadur Agha Surenian-Basilosian, Bab's nephew, took custody of the Zeytun Gospels, removing it from its niche in the church.[156] He may

have taken this action because he considered the holy book his responsibility and did not wish to leave it behind in the deserted town. He may also have taken the miraculous book with him to ensure his and his family's protection at their hour of greatest need.[157] Officials herded the notable faction to Marash. They assured the Zeytuntsi notables that they would spend the war years there in safety.

Among the possessions Asadur Ishkhan took to Marash was the Gospels. Thus it came to be that the manuscript was removed to Marash. Of the "Eagle's nest's" powerful relics and sacred objects and holy places, only the Gospels of Roslin outlived the fall of Zeytun.

Chapter 4

MARASH

The Holy Book Bears Witness

• MARASH. A SITTING ROOM. FALL 1915.

Uprooted from his mountain stronghold, transplanted in temporary quarters in Marash, despite all the uncertainty of war weighing on him, the Lord of the Citadel held fast to custom. He had set up a traditional reception room in the city building, clearing away all the modern furniture, leaving only low seats and cushions. What remained of his retainers busied themselves organizing visitors, seating them according to a strict social hierarchy known only to them. Dr. Artin saw it plainly. Even as they showed respect for his status as a physician, they did not entirely trust him or his modern medicine. They put their faith in their saints and icons and their holy springs' curing waters. To the doctor, the Lord of the Citadel appeared like a man from another time, magnificently dressed in red leather shoes, thick socks, baggy trousers, shawl belt, and striped shirt, on which he proudly wore a gold watch and chain and an Ottoman decoration, perhaps his reward for managing to keep most of Zeytun from erupting. Under his turban, in his deeply lined face, his eyes—the most piercing eyes the doctor had ever seen—squinted at him. He spoke in the mountain's peculiar dialect, with its archaic words, rough and surprisingly poetic at once. The ishkhan kept one rugged hand on a large book, while the other held worry beads. The doctor thought him more apt at handling weapons than a book. There was a glint of gold on what he could see of the bookbinding. The doctor was drawn to it. This ishkhan and his Zeytuntsi braves were the last living remnants of the kings and princes of Cilicia, who led almost savage lives on their mountains. In his travels the doctor had sought out the ruins of historical castles, monasteries, and old forgotten cities

where the lords of Cilicia once ruled. People said what was left of the treasure of the great princes of old was hidden in Zeytun in their dark and dismal churches, their sacred caves, and their monastery, which had gone up in flames not long ago. Could it be that the ishkhan had brought one of these priceless antiquities with him? The doctor's eyes focused on the old book under the ishkhan's rugged hand, in its worn binding, with a glint of gold.

. . .

Roslin's Gospels arrived from Zeytun to Marash in the care of Asadur Ishkhan Surenian sometime in the late summer of 1915. At that point, the history of the manuscript became entwined with Marash's fate during and after the Great War, until the early 1920s and the final decimation of that city's Armenian community. The episode at Marash illustrates a crucial stage in the life of the manuscript, but it also highlights a dimension of the Armenian Genocide: the relentless destruction of cultural heritage and the reaction of Armenians to it. Indeed, as they witnessed the extermination of their own community, Armenian individuals made desperate efforts to exert agency over their own fate. In their struggle to survive they seized upon objects of special significance and power, especially religious artifacts like the Zeytun Gospels. Even in the harsh conditions of the deportation and constant attacks, they held such things close or hid them in secret places. They hoped sacred articles would protect them, as well as remind them of their former lives and perhaps even of their own humanity.

The figure of the Marash physician and intellectual Dr. Harutiwn Der Ghazarian, known as Dr. Artin, illustrates a type of Ottoman Armenian far removed from the rugged mountains of Zeytun: the urban, educated, cosmopolitan professional for whom an article like the Zeytun Gospels was a work of art and a historical monument as much as it was a sacred object. As traces of Armenian presence were scraped away from Marash, the Zeytun Gospels became one

of the few artifacts to survive the end of Marash as it was known. By that time, the manuscript too bore the scars of the violence it experienced and witnessed.

A PROVINCIAL CENTER IN PEACE AND WAR

The city of Marash looms in histories of Zeytun. Forty miles to the southeast of the "Eagle's nest," it is today called Kahramanmaraş and sits on the plain nestled at the foot of Ahır Mountain. The famous Lion of Marash, a basalt sculpture of a feline covered in Hittite hieroglyphics from the ninth century BC is among the remains of an ancient city on what is now the citadel of Marash.[1] Known as Germanicia in Roman times, Marash's urban layers reflect its complex medieval history, when it was ruled by Byzantines, Crusaders, the Armenian kings of Cilicia, the beys of the Dulkadir dynasty, and the Mamluk sultans. Marash was incorporated in the Ottoman Empire in the early sixteenth century. At the dawn of the twentieth century Marash was a thriving inland city in Aleppo Province, an ancient settlement that kept pace with the rapid changes of modern times. As the capital of the provincial district that extended to Zeytun and its mountains, Marash was the seat of the district governor, a military contingent, and a redoubtable prison. Marash in turn formed part of the province of Aleppo, and that great city was the focal point of its political and economic life. Marash had long been a node in regional transportation networks and caravan routes. However, the newly built imperial Baghdad Railway line that connected Istanbul to Aleppo bypassed Marash.[2] To take the train, one had to travel some seventy-five miles overland to Islahiye. Marash was nonetheless a sophisticated city connected to the world, with a thriving economy and a bustling central marketplace, numerous educational institutions, and hospitals.

The citadel of Marash towered over neighborhoods with distinct characters, divided into two by the Kanlı Dere River ("bloody valley river"). They comprised diverse communities. Armenians pre-

dominated in several quarters, with six Apostolic Churches. The Armenians of Marash, along with those in Adana, were among the most confident and thriving in Cilicia. Unlike the mountaineers of Zeytun with their reputation as fierce warriors, the Marashtsis were instead wily, sophisticated urbanites with little interest in martial traditions. Their proximity to Ottoman state officialdom bound them to imperial structures and exposed them to general trends within the empire and the wider world.[3] The close integration of the Marash Armenians with the broader Ottoman society as well as the world beyond was discernible in numerous ways. Young men wore suits; young women wore European-style dresses and hats. Their speech distinguished them from villagers and mountaineers. Marashtsis were largely Turkophone in daily interaction, and indeed many of their descendants in the diaspora maintain their Turkish speech with a distinctive soft accent and now-archaic expressions.[4] Speaking Armenian and reading scripture in Armenian script were the marks of distinction of priests and of the secular intellectuals who emulated Istanbul's modern ways. They prized education, and the city comprised many schools run by the government, by the Apostolic Church, or by European and American missionaries, including even institutions for the instruction of young girls and women. The merchants of Marash boasted a command of foreign languages that helped them forge international business connections.

Throughout the nineteenth century, Marash emerged as a node in European missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire. Catholic missionaries had the longest history in the city. The Franciscan Fathers had made numerous converts among Armenians and erected a monumental monastic compound and a Catholic church.[5] Many Marashtsis also opted to join the growing Armenian Protestant Church, building no less than three meeting houses and associated institutions, with native sons as their pastors. By the late nineteenth century, German and American missionaries also settled in Marash. Those affiliated with the German Aid Union for Christian Charity

Work in the Orient established the Salem Hospital in addition to an orphanage.[6] Missionaries from the United States of America, under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ran orphanages and a school for girls.[7] The small American community of missionaries included the Reverend James K. Lyman (1880–1950). Lyman had asked the board for their most difficult station. So they sent him to Marash to preach to Muslims. Most of his converts, however, turned out to be Armenians. Lyman was to spend a total of eighteen years in Marash, on and off between 1913 and 1934. Fluent in Turkish, he wove himself into the social fabric of the city, yet as an American he was always considered an outsider. As a measure of the respect and trust he garnered, the people of Marash and surroundings often called upon him to mediate disputes.[8]

Not only did Americans venture into Marash, but residents of Marash emigrated to America. At the dawn of the twentieth century, emigration to North and South America intensified throughout Anatolia and the Levantine coast, particularly among Ottoman Christians. Once in the United States or Brazil, however, the émigrés tended to maintain contact with their hometowns. As early as 1906, Marash Armenians in New York had established the Educational Society of Marash, which evolved into the Compatriotic Union of Marash, to pursue charitable projects back home.[9] In 1916 a newspaper called *Giligia* (Cilicia), published in New York in Turkish rendered in the Armenian alphabet, served the Marash American community.[10] Thus by the early twentieth century, despite being a relatively small provincial center, Marash comprised well-established global networks that matched those of great mercantile Ottoman cities like Aleppo and Beirut, and that included its own American diaspora.

Among those who planned to emigrate from Marash to America was a dentist, Melkon Atamian. In 1912 he sailed to the United States with his two eldest children. He laid the groundwork for a

permanent move, and after entrusting his son and daughter to relatives, he returned to Marash. He was making arrangements to move his entire family to the New World when war broke out. The Atamians were stuck in Marash.[11]

. . .

The inhabitants of Marash experienced the spring of 1915 through a series of ominous events. War had been underway for almost a year. News of Zeytun and its squashed rebellion filtered in. People whispered about clashes in the mountains and the mass deportations. In May 1915 a caravan of Zeytuntsi Armenians filed through Marash, escorted by gendarmes on their way to exile.[12] There were rumors of a band of Zeytuntsi braves who had taken to the mountains, refusing to submit to the order of deportation, opting for probable death at the hands of the army rather than a long painful death on the road to exile.

If there were any among the Armenians of Marash who felt inclined toward armed resistance, a series of public executions that spring would have given them pause. As the capital of the provincial district, Marash was where the captured rebels and suspects of Zeytun and elsewhere on the mountain were brought in chains. After languishing in prison, many were publicly hanged in morbid spectacles that attracted Armenians and Turks in equal numbers, though not in the same spirit. A mob of Turks formed around the scaffolds, cursing the condemned and proffering obscene remarks, rejoicing loudly at the death throes of the hanged men. The spectacular hangings in Marash served as a warning to the Armenians against any form of resistance to the power of the state.[13] In Marash as in other Ottoman cities, public executions of Armenian citizens accused of being rebels, subversives, or insufficiently compliant helped to create an atmosphere of tension, intimidation, and terror.

That spring it seemed that the Armenians of Marash would be spared exile, even as their compatriots in the countryside were being

deported.[14] But that hope faded in the summer when a telegram ordering their deportation arrived from Istanbul. Arranged into columns, the deportees trickled out of Marash in groups over the next ten months. In the end, around six thousand Armenians managed to be spared from exile for a variety of reasons and remained in Marash throughout the war.[15]

DR. ARTIN, OTTOMAN PHYSICIAN AND INTELLECTUAL

Among the Armenians who won exemption from deportation were the dentist Melkon Atamian, as well as Dr. Harutiwn Der Ghazarian, the thirty-three-year-old surgeon and chief medical officer at the German hospital in Marash.[16] The shortage of physicians at that time meant that the Ottoman state could not spare them. Der Ghazarian was a sophisticated urbanite, informally known as "Doktor Artin" ("Artin" is a common Ottoman Armenian nickname for the doctor's first name, "Harutiwn").

Photographs show a handsome man groomed in the Western manner, clean-shaven without a traditional beard, but with a small mustache more suggestive of early twentieth-century fashion than the traditional Middle Eastern handlebar. Immaculately dressed in an elegant suit, Dr. Der Ghazarian was a prominent citizen of Marash, who enjoyed friendships with the town's most important men, like the provincial district governor, and his home was the meeting place of the city's noted Turkish and German officers and civic leaders.[17]

He represented the kind of modern educated professional that emerged in late Ottoman society thanks in part to the new opportunities offered by American educational institutions in the Middle East. Born into a distinguished Marash family in 1882, Der Ghazarian was the eldest of eight children and the only son.[18] After studying at the neighborhood church school of Saint Sarkis, he attended the American College in Tarsus in 1896–1901. He then trained as

a physician at the School of Medicine of the Syrian Protestant College, later known as the American University of Beirut. Ottoman Armenians composed a high proportion of medical professionals—physicians, dentists, and pharmacists—as they took full advantage of educational opportunities at the American medical school as well as the Ottoman state medical college. Upon his return to Marash, he served as the assistant surgeon in the German hospital in 1910, working under a German head physician. On the eve of the war, the German hospital found itself the only center of modern medicine for Marash, its hinterland, and the Taurus Mountains. The work was grueling. For a nine-month period between 1912 and 1913, Der Ghazarian reported eighteen thousand outpatient visits and 485 major surgeries at the hospital.[19] During the war Der Ghazarian was promoted to chief medical officer as well as chief military surgeon in the Ottoman army. Because of the alliance of Germany and the Ottoman Empire and their military cooperation, the German hospital in Marash was critical to the war effort. Dr. Artin was responsible for the medical examination of conscripts as well as the care of military casualties.[20]

Dr. Der Ghazarian spoke Armenian, Turkish, English, German, and Arabic.[21] He was also an amateur historian and art collector. He took a great interest in antiquities, and sometimes he accepted payment in artwork and ancient carpets rather than currency from his wealthier private patients.[22] He took every opportunity to visit the ruins of Cilician castles and to record inscriptions in the countryside around Marash.

In almost every way, Dr. Der Ghazarian was the opposite of Asadur Surenian. The traditional lord from Zeytun was called an *ishkhan*, literally "prince." Even in exile in Marash he cut an impressive figure. Nearly eighty years old, he was a tall man with piercing eyes and a long mustache whose middle part had yellowed from tobacco smoke, and he was dressed in the traditional garb of the mountain. He had been the wealthiest landowner of Zeytun and

the lord of the citadel. The war had taken its toll on the Surenian clan. Three of the younger sons had been conscripted into the Ottoman military while the rest had been deported to Sultaniye. Only the elders, Asadur and two of his brothers, along with their wives and retainers, had been ordered to Marash. The Ottoman government allocated the newly built reading room of the American Missionary compound to them, a modern multistory building. They had brought their most precious belongings with them. These included an imperial sabre, a gift from Sultan Abdul Hamid himself, in recognition of services Surenian had rendered the Ottoman state.[23] Asadur carried another priceless treasure: the Zeytun Gospels. Every night, he fell to his knees and prayed to the holy book and kept it near his pillow as he slept. He understood the Gospels to have the power to protect him and his family in their exile.[24]

Der Ghazarian had forged a friendship with Asadur Ishkhan during his medical visits to Zeytun before the war. As a respected Marashtsi doctor who worked daily at a hospital near the Zeytuntsis' dwelling, Der Ghazarian became a frequent visitor to the exiled notables. He became aware of the presence of the Gospels. Given his interest in medieval history, the doctor realized the book's importance. The ishkhan, however, guarded the holy manuscript closely.

In the spring of 1916 Der Ghazarian learned from his friend the district governor that a cipher telegram from Talaat Pasha had arrived, ordering the exile of the Zeytuntsi notables from Marash to Der Zor in the Syrian desert. Der Ghazarian instantly grasped the danger this order represented for the ishkhan's household and for the Gospels. At that time, even as the genocide was ongoing, Der Ghazarian would have enough information to assume that the Zeytuntsis would be subject to deprivations, plunder, and probable death on the road to exile. Consequently, Der Ghazarian urged the district governor to delay implementing the interior minister's order for a few days. Meanwhile he worked to persuade Asadur Ishkhan to

loan him the Gospels, ostensibly so he could examine the illuminations. The ishkhan was most unwilling to part with the sacred book. Finally, after promising to return it as soon as possible, the doctor managed to spirit the manuscript away to the German hospital.

The delay was up; Talaat's command was implemented. Under military orders to leave at once, Asadur Ishkhan and his brothers, in their last few hours in Marash, "despite all dangers," desperately attempted to retrieve their holy book. They were unable to find Dr. Der Ghazarian. He had been called away from Marash on business—or perhaps he had removed himself from the city. The Zeytuntsis were compelled to proceed into exile without their relic. "That ancient princely house of Zeytun was exiled, to be extinguished on the road to Der Zor, while the marvelous Gospels . . . remained in Marash," recalled Der Ghazarian.[25] Had the young doctor not recognized the Gospels for what it was, had he been less persistent in borrowing the Gospels from the ishkhan, who clearly did not wish to part with it, it is a near certainty that Roslin's masterpiece would be lost to history. Or perhaps, if one were inclined to share the Zeytuntsis' belief in their holy objects, if the Gospels had remained with the Zeytuntsis, its power would have protected them from the horrors of the genocide—as indeed it had until then. In any event, the ishkhan and his household departed to their deaths, distraught without their sacred relic; and the Gospels remained in the hands of a young doctor who would face the horrors of war in Marash.

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Throughout the war, in addition to his duties as the surgeon of the German hospital, Dr. Artin played a leading role in the Armenian community and contributed reports to the international Armenian press. His wartime writings reveal little of himself or his family, perhaps out of a sense of privacy. Instead his essays focus on Marash's urban politics and the ravages the population endured. A more personal sense of the

experience of the war from the perspective of an Armenian doctor serving in the Ottoman military comes through in the preserved diary of another physician from the region.

Dr. Avedis Jebejian (1876–1952), an Armenian Protestant born in Aintab, was also an alumnus of the medical school at the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, having graduated in 1902, a few years before Der Ghazarian.[26] While Der Ghazarian remained stationed in Marash, Jebejian's orders moved him frequently, posting him in army hospitals throughout Anatolia. His diary, which he wrote in Turkish rendered in Armenian script, records his movements supporting Ottoman military maneuvers.[27] He began his diary in November 1914. In the period leading up to and during the Gallipoli campaign, he circled the Sea of Marmara. His command of German made him valuable to the chief military doctor, a German.[28] The last entry in the diary dates from December 1919 in Khorasan as a demobilized Jebejian undertook the arduous journey home.[29] Dr. Jebejian recorded his daily experiences, both mundane and momentous. He commented on the weather, food rations, and letters from family as he struggled to treat overwhelming numbers of wounded, as well as the mass of victims of epidemics like typhus, cholera, and Spanish flu.

The earliest entries convey a sense of energy, even optimism. "I have faith that these terrible days are temporary," the doctor assured himself.[30] He volunteered to work at the theater of war in Çanakkale to support what he always called "our" side, that is, the Ottoman state.[31] However, as the war wore on, Dr. Jebejian witnessed its devastating effects throughout Anatolia, and his diary took a darker tone. His military contingent was frequently quartered in deserted Armenian villages whose inhabitants had been forced out. In the village of Khoshmat, near Palu, he supervised the conversion of exiled Armenians' homes into a military hospital.[32] Encountering columns of internally displaced Armenians being marched south toward the Syrian desert, Jebejian watched, powerless, as caravan after caravan

filed past on foot. He had a foreboding that few of them would survive. In time he became conscious of the precariousness of his own situation. In July 1916, serving near Malatya, he wrote cryptically, "Because of the fact that I am Armenian there are difficulties here. The people [here] are violent." An armed guard had to be assigned to keep watch at his door at night to protect him.[33] Toward the end of the war he was dismayed to see that the hospital nurses, all Armenian women, once discharged, were ordered to surrender themselves to the government to be deported: "The poor ones will be subjected to bloody days again."[34]

Jebejian may have crossed paths with Der Ghazarian in Marash in June 1916. However, his entries grew short around then as a cholera epidemic was spreading. His morale further deteriorated as he witnessed twelve thousand Armenian refugees on their way to exile: "They came through Marash, countless cruel scenes . . . for that reason I do not have the heart to continue my diary."[35]

While the two doctors are distinct historical personalities, one can reasonably assume that Der Ghazarian's daily experience of the war mirrored Jebejian's. Overwhelmed with work, striving to keep up with contradictory news of world events through infrequent newspapers, they witnessed, powerless, the destruction of their community. Just before the war, men like these physicians had formed part of a modernizing middle class who had great hopes for their own and the Ottoman state's bright future following the reforms of the 1908 revolution, and intended to participate in that bright future as equal citizens. Many progressive Ottoman intellectuals took the promises of the 1908 revolution at their word and expected a new era of equality among the religious and ethnic groups of the empire, and of modern law and citizenship to replace and undo the customary inequalities of the traditional Ottoman social order. Jebejian used the pronoun "we" to mean the Ottoman state and expressed anxiety at its military losses and joy at its successes. Demobilized at the site of what was becoming the border between the Ottoman

Empire and the nascent Armenian Republic, Jebejian could have entered Armenia, but the thought does not seem to have crossed his mind. He referred to the nascent Armenian state impersonally, despite the fact that the usually matter-of-fact doctor was moved to wax poetic at the sight of Mount Ararat ("a peerless, superb, and glorious mountain").[36] His loyalty to the Ottoman state was absolutely unambiguous. He did not know, however, that his loyalty was unrequited. Poignantly, he gradually became aware of the persecutions against Armenians and recognized them as being distinct from the many kinds of suffering that civilians and the military were experiencing during the war years. For example, he distinguished between the agony of his civilian patients who suffered from cholera, and the pain of Armenian deportees herded toward exile.[37] Throughout his postings in the empire, he witnessed the state persecution and exile of Armenians from all walks of life, including members of his own extended family. He remained loyal to the Ottoman state even though he was subjected to such enmity during his service as an officer that he required extraordinary protection.

AFTER THE ARMISTICE

By October 1918 the Ottoman Empire surrendered to the Allies. Following the armistice, the victorious Allies and the defeated Central Powers negotiated at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, which eventually resulted in the Treaty of Sèvres in August 1920 between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies.[38] It was only after the armistice, once comprehensive information began to circulate, that men like Jebejian and Der Ghazarian took in the full scope of the destruction brought by the war, and in particular the utter, systematic destruction of the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire. These men had to confront the fact that while they were faithfully serving their country, their state was committing genocide against their people.

In the fall of 1918 Marash, like the broader region of Cilicia and the Levant, came under joint occupation by British and French

armies. The victorious British and French parceled out among themselves sections of the defeated Ottoman Empire. At war's end, plans called for the creation of an Arab kingdom in Syria for the allies of the British, headed by Faysal bin Husayn. For their part, the French intended to turn Cilicia into a showcase for a new kind of colonialism along with Syria and Lebanon. For the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, the next few years held the promise that with the help of the League of Nations and the victorious Allies, the damage caused by the genocide would be mitigated or even reversed. As diplomats and entrepreneurs pored over maps in European capitals, they made plans for an Armenian state, which they believed was the only means to guarantee the survival of the Armenians as a nation. There was even reason to believe that the perpetrators of the atrocities would be brought to justice. War crimes trials against some Young Turk leaders were held in Istanbul, and some perpetrators were found guilty and punished.[39] However, the most highly ranked culprits managed to escape or otherwise elude responsibility.

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During the tense months after the war, Dr. Avedis Jebejian moved his family to Aleppo. His nine-year-old son, Robert, observed the remnants of the defeated Ottoman and German militaries as they withdrew through Aleppo. Explosions shook the city as the retreating army detonated arms munitions depots. Roads were unsafe; Turkish deserters were everywhere. Refugees, including large numbers of Armenians, remained in desperate straits in shantytowns.[40] Aleppo's Armenians, residents and refugees, rallied together through the help of what remained of communal institutions like the church, compatriotic associations, and civil society groups.

In these uncertain times, François Georges-Picot and Mark Sykes appeared in Aleppo. The British and the French diplomats, now remembered as the architects of the post-Ottoman political map of the Middle East hammered out in the infamous "Sykes-Picot

Agreement," were touring the Levant to drum up support for the new Middle East that was being finalized in Europe. They met with notables and community groups and delivered speeches. Mark Sykes, who had visited Zeytun and described it in his travelog of 1904, held a meeting jointly with Picot with the heads of the Armenian community in Aleppo as well as refugee groups.[41] The two diplomats assured them that evening that an Armenian state was going to be reinstated on their ancestral lands for the first time since the Kingdom of Cilicia, just as the Arabs were to be given a kingdom and a king, Faysal.[42] The Ottoman order was crumbling, the new prospects were still uncertain, and the diplomats lavished glittering promises on the weary survivors of the Great War.

Refugees hoped to return to their homes and mend their lives. As part of these new developments, in February 1919 British general Edmund Allenby appointed French officers to administer Cilicia and to supervise the repatriation of Armenian survivors who had been internally exiled by the Ottoman state during the genocide. Within months about 150,000 survivors returned home, from shantytowns on the outskirts of Aleppo and from the last remnants of the exile caravans that had been pushed out into the Syrian desert as far as Der Zor. Among them, around twenty thousand returned to Marash. They reached home to find their possessions looted and houses destroyed; they nonetheless set out to rebuild their lives, businesses, and communities.

The French military in charge of securing the new order in Cilicia was visibly a colonial force. French officers supervised troops of Senegalese *tirailleurs* and Algerian soldiers. These men stood out among the local population by their appearance, picturesque uniforms, and speech. Though they were Muslim, the local Turkish population viewed them as occupiers. In addition the French military in Cilicia included the Légion Arménienne, a special French military unit established in 1916. The *légionnaires* were an all-volunteer force, hence their Armenian name, *gamavor*s. They consisted of Ottoman

Armenian refugees and genocide survivors, former prisoners of war, and residents of Egypt, Europe, and the Americas who fought alongside the Allies in theaters of war in Palestine, Syria, and Cilicia. The Légion was meant to assist in the creation of a national home for Armenians.[43] Thus during World War I, Armenian individuals were serving on opposite sides of the conflict, the légionnaires with the Allies and those conscripted into the Ottoman military, like Dr. Der Ghazarian, with the empire. While many Ottoman Armenians served in combat in the Ottoman military, most were enrolled in labor battalions and worked to death or executed.[44]

The sight of uniformed and armed Armenians alongside the French caused dismay and resentment among Turkish residents. The fact that non-Muslims, the formerly second-class Armenians, now bore arms signaled to them an unseemly reversal of Ottoman-era social hierarchies. That these uniformed Armenians were allied with the French military that so recently had defeated the Ottoman Empire and occupied it only added fuel to the fire. For their part, the Armenian légionnaires, who were often genocide survivors, harbored their own resentment of the Turks. Intercommunal tensions simmered, ready to erupt.

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These regional developments reverberated in Marash, where Dr. Der Ghazarian followed them with trepidation as he continued to practice medicine at the German hospital, supervising a nearly all-Armenian staff. When the British took over the Ottoman Empire and expelled German subjects, the order also applied to the German nurse who had been the longtime director of the hospital. By early May 1919 her replacement, the American Dr. Mabel Evelyn Elliott (b. 1881–ca. 1944), took over the hospital on behalf of Near East Relief and the American Medical Women's Hospital Service.[45] Dr. Elliott, a seasoned and unflappable professional, ran a tight ship. She joined the small American community of postwar Marash that

consisted in longtime residents, such as the missionary James Lyman, and newly arrived humanitarian workers, such as Stanley Kerr, who staffed the local Near East Relief offices.[46]

Dr. Elliott listened with empathy as her patients, especially women, confided in her about their horrific experiences during the war and the deportations.[47] But it is Dr. Der Ghazarian who figures most prominently in her 1924 memoir, *Beginning Again at Ararat*, about her medical humanitarian work with Near East Relief to assist the postwar needy in the Ottoman Empire and the Caucasus. Elliott came to know Der Ghazarian over nearly nine months between early May 1919 and early February 1920. Well traveled, well educated, the doctor had an easy sociability with his fellow professionals at teatime in the German hospital. Der Ghazarian's command of English, his training at an American medical school, as well as his engaging personality "quickly won our respect and friendship."[48] Elliott referred to him as "Dr. Artine," the informal name the doctor's friends used. Her memoir presents a snapshot of the personality and concerns of Dr. Der Ghazarian during this period, describing a medical professional as well as an intellectual, a man concerned about the anxious political events of the day.

Dr. Elliott appreciated Der Ghazarian's talent and professionalism: "He was a surgeon whose skill touched genius; he was also a cultured and gentle man, intelligent, widely read, humorous."[49] Dr. Elliott was a frequent guest in Der Ghazarian's home, which was filled with objets d'art: "His house in Marash, kept by his two sisters, was not only a beautiful home, but a veritable museum of rare and marvelous things, for he was a connoisseur of rugs, Eastern paintings, and porcelains."[50] By "Eastern paintings" Elliott probably meant paintings found in manuscripts. Perhaps the American doctor even saw the Zeytun Gospels that Der Ghazarian considered the most important object in his custody.

Dr. Elliott's conversations revealed a man of wide horizons and erudition. This is borne out by Der Ghazarian's own numerous pub-

lications. He had a passionate interest in history and antiquities: "I traveled the entire length of Cilicia . . . as a youth . . . I was interested in monasteries and castles."[51] He eventually collected his essays in a book on the topography of the historic Armenian monuments of Cilicia, that is, the remains of structures built in the period of the medieval Armenian Kingdom. Amid his heavy responsibilities as a surgeon, Der Ghazarian made time to journey to remote sites to scout the ruins of fortresses or churches on the basis of references he read in medieval chronicles.[52] Sometimes he found only piles of rubble barely recognizable as the impregnable forts they once had been.[53] Nevertheless, he deemed this landscape deeply meaningful: "Even in their ruined state, these [sites] are sacred to us. We desire to view and touch the stone, the earth of these ruins and to remember the great deeds of our ancestors, at least live a moment with their memories."[54] As another remnant from the Middle Ages, the Zeytun Gospels must have prompted similar thoughts in the doctor from Marash. By leafing through its pages, viewing Roslin's illuminations and colophons, he must have felt connected to history.

The interest in researching the medieval past through ancient texts and ruined monuments, the notion of historic architecture as a mnemonic device that connects the present to the past, the personal art collection displayed in his home, all reveal Der Ghazarian's modern sensibility. In this he stood apart from the traditionalist leaders of Marash's Armenian community. He was interested in the past, not as a tradition to be upheld but out of a historical inquisitiveness. While history interested him most, his curiosity extended to the modern inhabitants of Cilicia's landscape, and he recorded their present-day religious and ethnic diversity alongside ancient remains.[55]

Der Ghazarian was raised in the Armenian Apostolic Church, but he did not view the Zeytun Gospels as a religious artifact first and foremost. Indeed, he confided to Elliott that "as an educated man, a modern man," he recognized the shortcomings of the Armenian Apostolic Church in the contemporary world; nevertheless, he

considered it the cornerstone of the Armenian community and nation, particularly in the absence of a state where Armenians had full and equal citizenship.[56] To be sure, the Armenian Apostolic Church in the Ottoman Empire was generally a conservative institution with a complex hierarchy that had proved resistant to change. Yet many progressive Armenian intellectuals at the time adopted a much more aggressively secular outlook than Der Ghazarian, or even professed anticlericalism. Der Ghazarian's commitment to the church as a central institution of the Armenian community and the key to its survival can also plausibly relate to the presence of many priests in his extended family. For example, his grandfather had been a parish priest and his uncle, Khachadur Der Ghazarian, was the Armenian Apostolic Prelate of Marash.[57]

The conversations with Der Ghazarian that Elliott related in her book are the most extensive discussions she had with locals. Evidently, Dr. Artin was a reluctant leader of the Armenian community in Marash, and the views he expressed to Elliott, or those in his own writings, show a discerning man independent of any specific political movement or ideology. While he evinces a cosmopolitan sensibility, the war and the persecution of Armenians had clearly forged in him a strong sense of his ethnic identity. Most of all, however, what emerges from Der Ghazarian's writings is an even stronger sense of belonging to a locality he called Cilicia—which was also the title he gave to the book that gathered historical essays written over his lifetime. His narrative of Armenian history is informed by the Armenian-language historiography of the late Ottoman Empire and reproduces some of its central tropes and concerns. These include a fascination with the medieval past of Cilicia and a preoccupation with the aftereffects of the loss of sovereignty in the late medieval period.

Elliott may not have known the full extent of Der Ghazarian's engagement in contemporary politics. Before the war, he had been a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, or Tashnagtsutiun, one of the Armenian militant political organizations that

had become a legal party represented in parliament until 1915.[58] In the uncertain postwar climate, Der Ghazarian harbored no illusions about the French intervention in Cilicia. He clearly discerned the colonialist impulse that drove the Allies to ostensibly "protect" the Ottoman Christian communities. "The history of the Armenian people is a history of being caught between stronger nations and killed in their conflicts. . . . Even when we were no longer free, we were still used as weapons by foreign imperialists. For half a century we have been pretexts, used by the politicians of Europe and Russia as weapons against Turkey."[59] As 1919 drew to a close, Der Ghazarian became more outspoken in his criticism of the French, who took measures to silence him.[60] Der Ghazarian appears emblematic of the intellectuals who faced colonialism in the Middle East: he had no illusions that the colonialists were not pursuing their own strategic interests, and that the protection they extended to Armenians was not predicated on their exploitation of Armenians as it suited them at a particular juncture. He was painfully aware of the precarious and unequal nature of the alliance between Armenians and the Allies. A premonition that it all would end badly for his people haunted him.

THE BATTLE OF MARASH

Der Ghazarian's foreboding came to pass during the events now known as the siege and Battle of Marash. The city and its inhabitants, along with the Zeytun Gospels, were caught in a regional conflict that pitted against each other French colonialists with their uneasy alliances among local groups, and elements of the Ottoman society who now pursued distinct political goals: Armenians, Turks, and Arabs. Indeed, as 1919 wore on, a movement mobilized in Anatolia that rejected the peace agreements made by the waning Ottoman state. Mustafa Kemal and other leaders of this movement appealed to Turkish residents to reject Allied rule and sent militants to the French-held regions of Cilicia to organize irregular civilian fighters known as *çetes*. In Cilicia many local Turks joined the

Kemalist movement, even though some opposed it. The Kemalists aimed to build a new state out of the ashes of the defeated Ottoman Empire, one that would not be beholden to the West and that espoused a form of Turkish nationalism. The French and their allies, the Armenians, stood in the way. By January 1920 in Marash, this movement morphed into an uprising of Turkish and Muslim residents against the French and the Armenians on the one hand, and against what was seen as the overly pliant official Ottoman rule on the other. These historical events were later woven into polarized narratives. The modern Turkish state presents them as part of its creation story, a heroic movement of national liberation against occupiers (the French) and treacherous internal enemies (the Armenians). For Armenians, by contrast, the events of Marash are part of a tragic history of massacre and loss. There are other competing memories of these events seen from the perspective of the French, or of Arab nationalists. To flesh out these perspectives, scholars have mined state and military archives and have collected accounts of members of the resistance movements, of refugees, and other eyewitnesses. My goal is not to reinterpret this history or to present a final comprehensive account. Rather, I document to the extent possible the experience of specific individuals during these traumatic events, as I reconstruct the way in which the Zeytun Gospels most plausibly changed hands. The following description of the Battle of Marash thus relies on first-person accounts.

Stanley Kerr, a young American in his midtwenties, recorded the Battle of Marash through photographs, in letters to his family written on the spot, as well as through his carefully researched memoir, *Lions of Marash*. Elliott published her diary of the siege in her memoir in 1924. Their accounts give the most concrete information about Der Ghazarian and others who had custody of the Zeytun Gospels.[61] Dr. Der Ghazarian himself wrote about the Battle of Marash, managing to send a dispatch that was published within a few months, in June 1920, in a Boston newspaper. While it is full of

detailed firsthand information about the siege, Dr. Artin's dispatch is silent about his own experience of the events, which he only wrote about a few years later.[62] A map of Marash Dr. Der Ghazarian drew from memory will guide our narrative.[63]

Dr. Der Ghazarian had so far managed to leverage his position of relative influence in order to protect his family and friends; however, his power soon proved precarious. In the weeks leading up to the battle, Turkish attacks on Armenian civilians multiplied and met with impunity. Intercommunal violence fed upon nationalist sentiments along with personal resentments and vendettas, and translated into vicious crimes. A Turkish officer, who had once aspired to marry one of the doctor's sisters and had been spurned, now felt emboldened to take his revenge. The officer and his regiment attacked the young woman on the very threshold of the family home, raping and murdering her in plain sight.[64]

Tensions were coming to a head. The battle began on January 21, 1920, and lasted for three weeks. Militants cut the telephone and telegraph wires, isolating Marash from the world. Any communication between the French in Marash and their chain of command had to rely on Armenian légionnaires disguised as Muslims, who crossed battle lines to carry messages by hand.

The French forces were positioned to the northwest of the city as well as in the barracks on the citadel. They had also assigned small contingents to important institutions likely to be targeted, such as the American orphanage and the Armenian churches. Many sections of the city were under Turkish control, including çete irregulars that had arrived from the countryside, swelling the ranks of Turkish combatants.[65] Apart from the French military, the Americans were the only foreigners left in Marash, including missionaries like Lyman, hospital personnel like Dr. Elliott, and Near East Relief personnel like Kerr. They were politically neutral and hoped that would ensure they were not attacked. The Americans huddled in their compound, caring for the patients in the hospital and the children of the

orphanage. In addition numerous terrorized Armenian civilians had taken refuge in the American compound in the hopes of escaping slaughter by their Turkish neighbors. From his window Kerr furtively took photographs of the city to the south. When columns of smoke began to rise from the skyline, he knew that fires had broken out.[66] As the battle progressed, the Turkish forces rooted Armenians out of their homes and burned their neighborhoods and churches one after the other. The dentist Melkon Atamian, the very same who had planned to emigrate to the United States, sheltered with a neighbor for a time. Soon, however, he along with his wife, who was pregnant with twins, and their children, including the thirteen-year-old Hagop, fled the burning neighborhood and took refuge at the First Protestant Church. Young Hagop Atamian climbed up the stories of the Protestant Church and watched the Turks besiege and shell the Church of the Holy Mother of God up the hill. Around two thousand Armenian civilians and fifty légionnaires had holed up in the church. Hagop saw Turks dousing kerosene on the church, then setting it on fire. The légionnaires brought out Red Cross flags, hoping to spare the civilians. The Turkish fighters surrounded the burning church and shot those who tried to escape the flames. Over the next excruciating hours, the people of Marash watched the church on the hill burn as all souls inside were incinerated.[67] Hagop must have experienced the horror of what many eyewitness accounts of the church burnings recall: the smell, hovering over the city for days, of so many burning bodies.

In the confusion of battle Dr. Der Ghazarian managed to gather news about the developments throughout the city, to record the types and amounts of military hardware used and the names of killed combatants and civilians. His own movements during these days can be traced from the recollections of others, such as an American nurse who recorded in her diary her joy at seeing Dr. Artin alive.[68] Dr. Artin had seen the fire devour his own home, burning alive his grandmother and aunt along with all the family possessions, his

library, and his lovingly collected art objects.[69] He had managed to save only one item: the Zeytun Gospels. "I felt some satisfaction at that moment that at least, a valuable national antiquity did not fall victim to that savage fire," he wrote.[70]

French military commanders soon confided to the Americans of Marash their plan for a secret withdrawal. The balance of forces shifted back and forth during the three weeks of battle, and while the French appeared to have the upper hand, they chose to abandon Marash for reasons that may have to do with broader military tactics.[71] The French commanders warned the Americans to conceal this information from the civilians to avoid generalized panic, and offered to take them along on their retreat to safety. Staying in Marash without French protection would expose the Americans to uncertainty and possible reprisals from the Turkish fighters. Yet equally risky was the plan for the retreat: they had to cross seventy-five miles of countryside in the dead of winter to reach the nearest train station, Islahiye. On February 9 the Americans held what must have been a harrowing meeting. Mabel Elliott opted to retreat with the French. She was responsible for the individuals under her care and she would see them to safety. The missionaries decided to remain and to share the fate of those whose salvation was their purpose in Marash. Some Near East Relief officials, including Stanley Kerr, also chose to stay out of commitment to their relief work. That night they wrote farewell letters to their loved ones in America, aware of the high probability that they would not survive the siege.[72]

Meanwhile, unaware of the planned French evacuation, Dr. Der Ghazarian was ensconced at the center of the city, where a few thousand civilian Armenians huddled in two adjacent churches, Catholic and First Protestant. Among them at the First Protestant Church were the Atamians, including the heavily pregnant Mariam Atamian. The Armenians at the church had improvised themselves into an emergency community, organizing a defense against the Turkish fighters, digging trenches, and rationing supplies. They had

held the Turkish fighters at bay at tremendous cost and had even been able to capture some supplies. They could see that the French had gained the upper hand in the battle, and they felt confident they could rejoin the French contingent.[73] Dr. Artin had spent the night of February 10 performing surgeries in a makeshift operating room, concluding with a leg amputation.[74]

That same night, the French forces with their European officers, Senegalese and Algerian troops, and some Armenian légionnaires, along with a few Americans and civilians, began their retreat under the cover of darkness. Survivor testimonies emphasize the silence of the retreat, made possible because the French had tied felts to their horses' hoofs to avoid making noise while they slipped away: "We woke up and realized that the French had covered the hoofs of their horses and had abandoned Marash silently."[75]

The last of the retreating French troops set fire to their barracks, to prevent their ammunition from falling into enemy hands. The sight of the flames on the night of February 10 indicated to the Armenians who had taken refuge at the Catholic Church that the French had abandoned them. Word soon spread among Armenian families closest to the barracks, who, panicking and woefully unprepared, began to trail the French column. The cold was intense, eighteen degrees centigrade below zero (0° F).[76]

> The next morning, a bright sunny day, they [the Armenian defenders] could actually see the black line of troops stretching from the Ak Su towards El Oghlou and knew that they had been deceived and deserted. On the crests of the hills around Marash they saw also groups of the Turkish nationalists, already aware of the French retreat, and wondered if it was too late to attempt escape. Most of them believed that anyone who remained in the city would be massacred.[77]

The Armenians who had taken refuge at the First Protestant Church held a council "to consider how they should die," in Dr. Der

Ghazarian's expression.[78] They debated whether they should try a desperate attempt to join the retreating French column. But their only way out of Marash was through neighborhoods controlled by Turkish fighters.[79] Some, like the Atamians, had little choice but to stay, since Mrs. Atamian had just given birth to twin daughters.[80] Dr. Der Ghazarian and his two sisters were among the eight hundred or so individuals who chose to make a dash for escape, well aware that it was a gamble. Dr. Artin divided what remained of his money between his sisters.[81] He also entrusted the Zeytun Gospels to one of them. She wrapped the heavy manuscript in "a precious Persian shawl" and slung it on her back.[82] They ran through the streets. Their group immediately came under fire as they went past trenches filled with Turkish fighters. "But it was too late. The Kemalist troops and innumerable çetes [irregulars] began to fire on us; panic everywhere, dead bodies on all sides. The Gospels had fallen from my sister's back down to the ground. It was beyond physical ability to lift that precious weight and to escape under fire."[83] Unable to run bearing the manuscript's weight, the sister let it fall from her back to the ground "near a parapet."[84] Dr. Artin saw his sisters stumble. In the melee, the siblings were separated.[85] He conflated his experience with the holy book's: "The Gospels . . . became an eyewitness to that terrifying massacre."[86]

. . .

Once out of the city, the refugees endured an altogether different ordeal. Over three terrible days, through a violent snow storm, the column marched the approximately seventy-five miles (121 km) over the mountains, mostly on foot with a small number of carts, to the nearest train station of Islahiye. French officers, Senegalese tirailleurs, Algerian soldiers, Armenian légionnaires, Mabel Elliott with her hospital staff and wards, and Armenian civilians faced the cold, lacerating snow, exhaustion, hunger, and "the temptation to just lie down in the snow and sleep, to give up all effort."[87] If the French

military and Elliott's group had been given some warning to ready supplies for survival, most of the refugees were woefully unprepared. They stopped the first night at El Oglu, and the second in Bel Pınar. Mabel Elliott became painfully aware of how lucky she was, being in excellent health, having provisions, assisted by the French orderlies, managing somehow to find shelter in empty or ruined buildings, while most Armenian refugees spent the nights in the open. Heartbreaking scenes unfolded as uncounted numbers froze to death. The column advanced on foot, slowly and painfully in the storm, jettisoning the lifeless bodies of loved ones in the snow on the roadside. On the afternoon of February 13, 1920, Elliott heard a train whistle in the blizzard. They had reached Islahiye.

Only around thirty survived out of the eight hundred souls who ran the "Turkish gauntlet" and eventually reached Islahiye.[88] The survivors' relief was short-lived, as more refugees died of disease or hypothermia in Islahiye itself, camped out in the open, waiting for help. At the train station Mabel Elliott was briefly reunited with Dr. Artin: "The change in him, even after the experiences he had undergone since I last saw him, was so appalling that my relief in finding him alive was still-born."[89] As he related to her his last days in Marash and the separation from his sisters, she observed: "[He was] the only one of his family left. Everything he had had in the world was gone, his family, his friends, his beautiful house, his surgical equipment, his practise, the place he had made for himself in the world."[90] Much later, Stanley Kerr was able to ascertain that Dr. Artin's sisters had separately managed to survive as well.[91]

AMONG THE WRECKAGE

Back in Marash, where the Gospels lay in the snow, Stanley Kerr was filled with apprehension. Hagop Atamian recalled that after the French retreat, Kerr came with the remaining Americans to the First Protestant Church where thousands of Armenians huddled, and brokered a cease-fire with Turkish officials. Tensions remained high

in spite of it.[92] As Kerr and Lyman tended to the wounded in the hospital, they heard reports of extrajudicial executions and disappearances. The provincial district governor, who had been Dr. Der Ghazarian's friend, and his gendarmes represented state authority, but they appeared to have little interest in controlling the Kemalists, or perhaps they failed to exert power over them. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that Turkish civilians retained their weapons while the Armenians had been disarmed. The Armenians remained confined to their half-ruined churches, staying away from their businesses until the end of February, while they helplessly watched their former neighbors loot their homes. Turkish civilians boycotted the Armenians, preventing them even from purchasing food or medicine. By necessity, Near East Relief and the American mission tried to feed them, pooling even their personal funds until they ran out of money and provisions.[93] The Atamians squatted in the First Protestant Church for six more months, for their home had been burned, Melkon's dental clinic had been looted, and "no one felt safe."[94]

Stanley Kerr surveyed the city that lay in ruins. Signs of violence were everywhere. The stench of charred bodies suffused the Church of the Holy Mother of God. Of the hundreds of bodies piled on the altar, none had rings left on their fingers or jewelry of any kind. He concluded the Turks had robbed the corpses and stacked them on top of one another.[95] All parties suffered military and civilian losses, but the Armenian civilian deaths were staggeringly out of proportion. Kerr calculated that of the 22,000 Armenians in the city before the battle, only about 9,700 remained. "Marash was occupied by Kemal [the Kemalists or Turkish nationalists]. . . . An unbearable life of slavery had begun for those Armenians who remained," Der Ghazarian later wrote bitterly.[96]

The battle transformed Marash forever, shattering lives as well as buildings. The battle had taken place from house to house, in densely populated neighborhoods, between military units as well as between armed and unarmed civilians. Fighting at such close quar-

ters was sure to cost many civilian lives as collateral damage. Here, however, the fighting was accompanied by massacre, looting, and score-settling, the result of long-simmering communal tensions. The number of human losses over these twenty-one snowy days is difficult to ascertain. Combatants were killed, wounded, missing, and frostbitten. Armenian civilians of Marash were massacred or died of exposure. But the number of dead is only one aspect of the battle's devastation. The Battle of Marash spelled the end of the Armenian community's centuries-long presence in that city within a few extraordinary, violent weeks. The material losses were also staggering, with fires set in numerous locations throughout the city and widespread destruction and looting of property. Turkish fighters had lit fires to destroy Armenian neighborhoods, but the flames had then escaped their control and consumed more of the city. Six churches and seven mosques had burned. In the cruel logic of intercommunal war, Armenian religious institutions and schools had been targeted for looting, massacre, and burning. The city emerged so thoroughly altered that an Armenian survivor inquired, "Marash, how do they call you Marash?"[97] After the battle, Marash could no longer be Marash.

Later, the mosques were repaired. However, the Armenian communal institutions disappeared without a trace. The land on which they sat was confiscated. But the story of the Zeytun Gospels did not end there.

. . .

During the panic and confusion of the terrible night of February 10, the Zeytun Gospels fell from Miss Der Ghazarian's grasp.

Someone picked it up.

The events that took place from this point onward have disappeared into the fog of time. Fragments of evidence allow one to reconstruct what may have happened, to somehow mitigate our precarious relationship to the past. There is the material evidence—the

Zeytun Gospels and the city of Marash itself. There are also fragments of memory, stories recorded years later, narrated to others and remembered after the fact, some written down and some transmitted orally. These fragments do not fit together perfectly, but they do have points of convergence. The full history of the Zeytun Gospels' movements eludes us. Yet we know that the holy manuscript intervened in the social world, provoking greed, fear, devotion, love, and hope, and prompting actions whose effects linger today.

At some point during the Battle of Marash, a man came upon the Zeytun Gospels. He was with a party of fellow Turks who, as he would later relate, were killing Armenians in their homes, looting their belongings, and plundering churches.[98] He must have found the manuscript near the parapet where it had fallen from Miss Der Ghazarian's grasp.[99] It must have been covered in snow. Snow in Marash was often stained with blood in those days, and dead bodies were being removed from the streets long after the clashes had ended. Seeing it bundled in its precious Persian shawl, its binding adorned by splendid ornaments, he must have known the manuscript was no ordinary book. He grabbed it.

For nearly two months, the Turkish man kept the holy book. As he later stated, he knew the book was valuable. It is possible that it was his hand that removed some of the precious metal ornaments from the Gospel Book's binding, leaving behind the holes where they were once affixed and a discoloration outlined in the shape of a small cross. Silver or gold could be melted down or exchanged easily. In any event, those ornaments were no longer present when the Gospels was next described, though their imprint remained.[100] Presumably he held on to the manuscript, planning to sell or trade it. Yet unlike other commonly looted goods, like currency, jewels, carpets, copper pots, or household goods, an Armenian religious book was not as easily sold or traded. He needed to find a buyer who would want it. With the dwindling number of Armenians in Marash, he must have felt there was not a lot of time to lose.

That was not all, however. The moment he took possession of the manuscript, he could find no rest. In recurring nightmares, a fearsome man with flowing white hair and a beard appeared to him and commanded him to return the book to its people.[101] In late Ottoman society, dreams, visions, and premonitions were regular occurrences, no doubt intensified at times of upheaval. Or perhaps, after the mayhem of the Battle of Marash, where the Turkish man himself had participated in perpetrating atrocities, he was experiencing what would now be called posttraumatic stress disorder.

What the Turkish man did next cannot be known with certainty. The Armenian Apostolic Prelate of Marash, Khachadur Der Ghazarian, told his nephew Dr. Artin Der Ghazarian that a Turkish man came to see him.[102] The Turkish man showed him the manuscript. He said that ever since he had found the holy book, he had a recurring dream where he was commanded to surrender the book to the "*Ermeni murakhkhasi*," the Armenian delegate or official. So he had come to the Prelate. And should the Prelate wish to compensate him for this gift, then it was up to him. Father Khachadur must have understood this as an offer to sell the manuscript. Without a doubt, he must also have recognized the manuscript. A simple glance at the book's cover would have alerted him to its importance. Then he must have leafed through it, and he must have realized that it was the precious manuscript from Zeytun that his nephew had once treasured in his home. Father Khachadur gave the Turkish man twenty-two *mejidiye*s, or silver coins. This was not an insignificant sum in those days of war and uncertainty. In the most desperate days of the genocide, Armenian parents on the road to exile to the Syrian desert had been forced to sell their own children under duress, for as little as two mejidiyes.[103] For his part, Father Khachadur understood that he had ransomed the Gospels and rescued it from captivity.

Another testimony has come down to us about the reappearance of the Zeytun Gospels. Hounded by recurring nightmares, the Turkish man took the book to an Armenian acquaintance he called "den-

tist Melkon."[104] Melkon Atamian's thirteen-year-old son, Hagop, heard the Turk tell of his nightmares and ask to be relieved of the book. Hagop recalled that his father took the manuscript from the Turk's hand, gave it to his son, and asked him to put it in a safe place. The manuscript enthralled both father and son. What did they feel as they looked upon it in the aftermath of three weeks of relentless violence? They certainly realized it was a sacred book, a valuable book. Beyond that, however, neither Atamian would have recognized it as the Zeytun Gospels specifically, since only the most educated men knew of its existence, let alone had the ability to identify it. Recognizing the manuscript for what it was would have required the ability to decipher the colophons, written in medieval Armenian, and the date, in the medieval Armenian calendar.

Neither Hagop Atamian nor Dr. Artin, when they related these accounts years later, recalled a name for the man they simply referred to as "a Turk." This must mean that the Turk did not give his name to the Prelate or to the Atamians, and conversely that neither the Prelate nor the Atamians recognized the Turkish man as someone they were familiar with. This in turn suggests that he was either a visitor to Marash from elsewhere (perhaps one of the çete militants who had rallied to Marash to aid the Kemalists), or someone far removed from their circle of acquaintances. Both Der Ghazarians, uncle and nephew, were fluent Turkish speakers who counted many Turks in their social and professional circles. When Dr. Artin wrote about friends and business associates who were Turks, he usually provided their full names.[105] For his part, Father Khachadur's official capacity required him to interact and negotiate with Turkish authorities.[106] The Armenians of Marash, perhaps more than most other communities, lived in close interaction with their Turkish compatriots. To them, Turks were not an undifferentiated mass but rather neighbors, colleagues, friends, patients, or business associates, and even during bitter conflicts they were intimately familiar with each other's character and lineage.

The Turkish man's motivations and thoughts are unknown. Greed must have compelled him to seize, then sell the manuscript. Significantly, however, he chose not to destroy or mutilate the book. Perpetrators of massacre dismembered many Christian books, especially visibly religious ones, stabbed them, and defaced them. This practice was so pervasive that curators have coined an adjective, *trazarg* (stabbed with a blade), to describe the manuscripts thus defaced.[107] In addition to this kind of ritualized violence, Armenian books were also subject to casual violence, being thrown out as trash or reused for mundane purposes, such as wrapping food.[108] As for the recurring dream, it suggests that his conscience may have compelled the Turkish man to return the holy book to its community. He had participated in the Battle of Marash and he perpetrated atrocities that perhaps then weighed on him. Thus guilt or regret just as much as greed may have prompted him to give the book to someone whose faith would value it. Nevertheless, thanks to this Turkish man's actions, Roslin's Gospels was found again and reached the hands of those who recognized it as a sacred relic of a community in the process of destruction.

The holy book had returned into Armenian hands, but it was becoming clear with each passing day that there was no place left for Armenians in Marash. Melkon Atamian was able to resume his dentistry practice in the office of a colleague since his own clinic had been wrecked, but his family's future was precarious. He revived his plan to emigrate to the United States to join his eldest children and relatives. As the family prepared to leave, he had to consider what to do with the holy book. His son Hagop recalled that Melkon consulted notables within the remaining Armenian community about the manuscript's fate.[109] Father Khachadur must have been one of these notables. They must have deliberated about what to do with the manuscript. The churches of Marash had burned down, Armenians were being compelled to leave the city, and thus the manuscript could not be returned to a liturgical space. Taking the book out of

Marash would put it at risk of being plundered. Many Armenians seeking to relocate to Aleppo, even under protection, were assaulted and robbed with impunity on the roads.[110]

All young Hagop knew was that the older men took the decision to entrust the manuscript to the American missionaries in Marash. When he realized the holy book that so enchanted him was to be left behind, Hagop, reluctant to part with it, did something momentous: "I ripped out, very carefully, four sheets from the middle of the book."[111] And thus the holy manuscript was cleaved into two.

Hagop Atamian did not know that these four sheets, or four bifolia that yielded eight pages, were canon tables. He removed the bifolia so carefully that he left intact the small holes in the vertical fold at the center of each bifolium, where the threads that bound the manuscript together into a codex would have been. Hagop must have been the one who, removing the illuminated pages, reshuffled them and folded them—creating the horizontal crease that is still visible today. Why did he remove a segment of the manuscript; why did he purloin it? He may have wanted to preserve a piece of it, perhaps as a talisman for himself, for his family, for protection against the uncertainty that lay ahead. Perhaps he felt he was saving, at least in part, a sacred treasure from being lost or traded among unscrupulous persons. In retrospect, some have excoriated the person who violated the integrity of the manuscript. Yet one also ought to take into account the pressures he must have faced and the terror he must have felt.[112]

The older men, unaware of what the adolescent boy had done, took the book to the American missionaries. Father Khachadur related that he applied to the Reverend James Lyman, entrusting him with the precious book. Lyman agreed to safeguard the manuscript and issued a receipt to Father Khachadur.[113] Father Khachadur was the only person among those present who could identify the manuscript as the Zeytun Gospels, and he must have conveyed to Lyman the holy manuscript's link to Zeytun. Hagop Atamian, who did not

witness the transfer of the manuscript, related that the missionary supplied four receipts on small yellow pieces of paper to four Armenians, among them his father, Melkon.[114] Over the years, other exiles from Zeytun and Marash repeated whispers of the multiple receipts as well.[115] The understanding was that in the future, the missionary would return the book to whoever presented him with all four of the yellow pieces of paper. The four receipts together would indicate that they were acting as a community rather than as individuals. The receipts became symbols of the covenant between the Armenians and the missionary, a guarantee during desperate times that a relationship of trust existed and would be honored in the future.

Even though no trace of these receipts remains, what is certain is that the holy book stayed behind with Lyman, while the Armenians of Marash took the road of exile. As a final insult, Stanley Kerr saw Turks in the covered bazaar cast stones at a group of Catholic Armenians on their exodus from their hometown.[116] The Atamian family believed they were the last Armenians to leave Marash when they set out in 1923.[117] Father Khachadur also believed he was the last Armenian to leave Marash, and as he feared, he was assaulted and robbed on the road.[118] Through different paths, they all reached Aleppo. That great city, once the capital of the province where Marash was located, was now in a separate country, Syria, under the French Mandate.

In July 1923 the Atamians set off for the United States.[119] Hagop carried the pages from the holy book. He did not know that the fragment was the Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels, that Toros Roslin had illuminated the golden pages at the behest of his patron, Catholicos Constantine. For Hagop, the beautiful pages were sacred, a memorial of all that had been lost. Years later, he said he had taken the fragment to prove "that the book existed, that our story had not been manufactured."[120] Hagop held on to the fragment as proof of the very existence of Armenians, of the truth of what they

had suffered, at a time when Armenians and their traces were being wiped away from their homeland.

AFTERMATHS

Dr. Artin had miraculously reached Islahiye yet faced an uncertain future. He hoped to board a train to the larger town of Adana. He implored Dr. Elliott's help to find work, "any kind of work, . . . I don't ask to keep on in my profession, I don't expect to be able to do that, now. . . . I would be most grateful if you could perhaps get me a job as a porter, or cleaning the offices."[121] Elliott managed to get the Near East Relief hospital in Adana to hire Der Ghazarian as an interpreter. Within a few months he rose to manage the hospital. But his days in his native Cilicia were numbered. Kemalist Turkish forces and the French military signed the Treaty of Ankara in October 1921. The French effectively ended their plan of colonial rule in Cilicia. Of the Ottoman territories they had intended to dominate, they retained only Syria and Lebanon under a new colonial form known as the Mandate of the League of Nations. Eventually the new Republic of Turkey absorbed much of Cilicia. From then onward, not only did hopes for an Armenian polity become moot, but the very survival of Armenians in the region was threatened. Any remaining Armenian civilians faced persecution and dispossession, and were pressured to leave by the Kemalist government.[122] Dr. Der Ghazarian's dark premonition had come to pass.

Marash was incorporated into the new Republic of Turkey. The redrawn international border severed its long-standing connections to places like Aleppo, the capital of the Ottoman province to which it formerly belonged. Now living in exile, Marash Armenians continued to chronicle the history of their hometown from afar. They noted with concern violent clashes between Kemalists and Turkish conservatives in 1928, which resulted among other things in the burning of the German hospital where Dr. Der Ghazarian and Mabel Elliott

had practiced medicine.[123] As Turkish official historiography exalted what it now called the War for Independence, it gave pride of place to its version of the Battle of Marash, which vilified Armenians and justified their massacre and eviction. Recognizing this, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey renamed the city "Kahramanmaraş," meaning Heroic Marash, in 1973. Even as he tended the memory of his "fatherland," Krikor Kalustian, the editor of a 1934 book on the city and one of the few men who had viewed the Zeytun Gospels in Zeytun in 1907, wrote, "The Armenian Marash of yesterday has now entered history."[124]

Aleppo was the large city nearest Marash outside the Republic of Turkey and with which Marash had traditionally had a strong trading connection. In the years 1921–22 waves of refugees swept into Aleppo as city after city in Cilicia fell. But this time they had little expectation of returning home. Morale was low. Their hopes had been dashed, from the most prosaic wishes—of being at home, rebuilding their community, and starting over after the Great War—to the most ambitious dreams, of redeeming the genocide, attaining citizenship rights, and reclaiming their dignity. Some of these refugees had seen their lives reduced to nothing, more than once: first in 1915 and again now, a mere five years later. On an empty lot next to Dr. Avedis Jebejian's home in Aleppo, Marashtsi squatters scavenged pieces of wood, rags, and tin, and improvised shelters.[125]

Dr. Artin was among these refugees. He was one of the lucky ones: his skills were transferable, and he still had friends and relatives to count on. After working in Adana's Near East Relief hospital, he found a way to obtain additional training in Frankfurt, Germany, specializing in gynecology and ophthalmology in 1921–22.[126] Then through his long-standing connection with Near East Relief he became the chief surgeon at the American Hospital in Lattakia, Syria. He moved to Aleppo in 1925.

He had employment, but his high professional and personal status were less easily moved from Turkophone Marash to Arabophone

Aleppo. His uncle, Khachadur Der Ghazarian, once the Prelate of Marash, was now merely one of the four preachers of Holy Cross, a makeshift church in the refugee camp in the Hamidiyya area of Aleppo.[127] As for Dr. Artin, he was reduced to being one of the many Armenian doctors as well as dentists and pharmacists pushed out of their traditional homelands in Cilicia and Anatolia.[128] Aleppo already boasted noted Armenian physicians who were longtime residents. Even a city that large could not absorb them all. The surplus medical professionals were redirected toward the provinces, to the remote and undeveloped upper Euphrates region. Many Armenian doctors ended up returning to those areas where their families had been exiled and decimated during the genocide, this time to provide medical services to perpetrators, bystanders, and their communities.

In Aleppo, Dr. Der Ghazarian rallied his family and started over. He eventually set up a private clinic on fashionable Moat Street. He built a reputation for medical expertise in trachoma, a common illness in northern Syria. But to Armenian refugees he remained "Dr. Artin from Marash," who would treat them regardless of whether they could afford to pay.[129]

James Lyman and the American missionaries stayed in Marash and altered their mission to suit the changed city. As for American Near East Relief, its officials recognized the permanence of the region's political and social changes and took the decision to transfer its operations out of Cilicia. Stanley Kerr helped organize the move of NER institutions, employees, as well as patients and orphans to its centers in Syria and Lebanon. Kerr continued to live and work in the Middle East, for Near East Relief and later as a professor at the American University in Beirut. Among his many Armenian students was Robert, the son of Avedis Jebejian, the military doctor who had kept a diary of his wartime experiences. Avedis had rebuilt his life in Aleppo where he had established a respected medical practice. His son Robert followed in his footsteps, graduating from the medical school of the American University in Beirut. Yet Kerr had not emerged unscathed

from his experience of Marash. For decades he gathered materials about those fateful years, keeping in touch with friends who had now spread all over the world. His memoir, published in 1973, includes a map of Marash drawn by his old friend Dr. Artin.[130]

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In addition to his medical practice, Dr. Artin, now in his forties, eventually resumed his communal and intellectual pursuits. He devoted time to the church and to community mutual-aid organizations instead of political parties as he had before the war. He joined the newly established Aleppo branch of the Marash Compatriotic Union.[131] The union helped refugees build new lives through cash subsidies and assistance finding jobs. But they were compatriots of a Marash that no longer existed except in memories. Dr. Artin published steadily in the Armenian press: "He has turned his house into a monk's cell, where he writes," observed his friends.[132]He contributed a map of his hometown hand-drawn from memory, as well as sections on medieval poetry and dialectology, to Kalustian's memorial book, *Marash*. He advocated for the preservation of Armenian culture in Syria at a time when community institutions were overwhelmed with refugee relief and communal survival. "We rescued so few things from Cilicia," he wrote. Full of regret that scant scientific attention had been paid to Cilicia's antiquities, he sought to record what he could of the medieval Cilician fortresses and monasteries left behind, vulnerable to the ravages of time and of "vandals": "I am pained to say that we do not even have a [single] photograph of those ruins."[133] His book *Topography of Cilicia*, which he published in 1966 at the age of eighty-four, is a memorial to his beloved birthplace, documenting his travels, remembrances, and research in medieval and secondary sources over his lifetime.

Dr. Artin was resilient. He survived the war years, the genocide, and the siege of Marash. In Aleppo he reclaimed his humanity, his professional dignity, and he rebuilt his life. Yet like so many others,

he remained haunted by the trauma of the genocide. In addition to the loss of his family members, friends, compatriots, and country, he had also lost all his possessions, his house, artworks, as well as what must have been his personal archive of medical and historical research. Mabel Elliott wrote of him: "Wherever he is, he will always be a gallant, gentle, intelligent man. But his personal life, his career, and his hopes were killed in Marash."[134] For the rest of his long life, he dwelled over and over again on the loss of Cilicia, the events of Marash, and the destruction of Armenian art. His memories remained raw.[135]

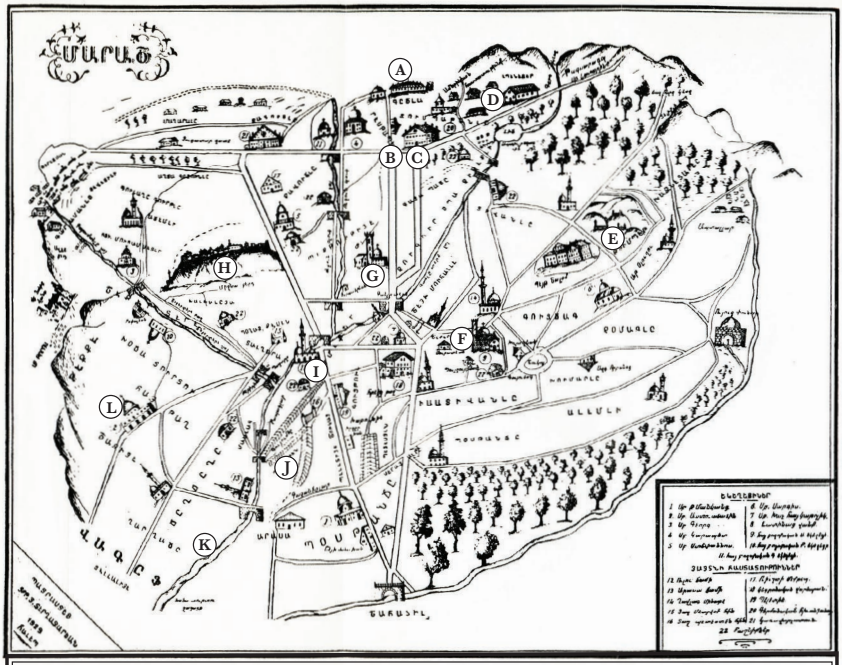
The Zeytun Gospels haunted Dr. Der Ghazarian with particular poignancy. His awareness of the artistic and historical value of the manuscript, its connection with his life's most horrific events, and the pain of its loss led him to speak and write of it repeatedly: "Here I wish, in a particular way, to impart some specifics regarding that famous Gospels, which remained with me in Marash for nearly three years."[136] It is through his testimony, in fact, that part of the saga of the Gospels can be reconstructed. He described the journey of the Gospels from Zeytun to Marash and his own role in their preservation in a letter dated August 1, 1936, to the Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeyan, the scholarly Prelate of Aleppo. Years later, in 1967, he published an article on the manuscript in *Haratch*, an Armenian-language newspaper in Paris that was read throughout the diaspora. In his accounts, Der Ghazarian, a modern professional, did not view the Gospels as primarily a sacred object with supernatural power. Rather, he described it as "a valuable national antiquity."[137] Dr. Der Ghazarian appreciated the manuscript's aesthetic qualities, but he did not mention its scribe and illuminator, emphasizing instead the book's patron, the Catholicos Constantine. Roslin was not a household name in Armenian art in the 1930s. Only in 1967 did Der Ghazarian refer to the Zeytun Gospels as "the masterpiece of the miniaturist Toros Roslin," and only after reading art historian Sirarpie Der Nersessian's research on the Gospels' artistic aspects.[138]

For Der Ghazarian, unlike the congregants in Zeytun, the Gospels functioned as a work of art and a historical monument. But this was not the only role the Gospels performed in Marash. For the Turkish man, the manuscript constituted loot, an object to be traded, even if this looted object retained the power to cause dreams and premonitions. For Hagop Atamian, the manuscript was a talisman, a memorial object that bore witness to his and his people's very existence.

In his 1967 article, the eighty-five-year-old Der Ghazarian still vividly recalled the fateful night when he lost the Gospels, his last night in Marash. He suddenly switched to the present tense: "The Armenian neighborhoods are burning. Panic everywhere."[139] He had apparently only become aware of the manuscript's sundering into two upon reading Der Nersessian's art historical analysis. He seethed at the news of the mutilation of the priceless book, even though he learned of it decades after the fact. He wrote urgently, "Here I wish, in a particular way, to impart some specifics." There was little he could do to repair the injuries of the past, but he could bear witness, again and again.

The citadel of Zeytun seen from the southwest. From Hugo Grothe, *Geographische charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei und dem südlichen mesopatamisch-iranischen randgebirge* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1909), plate 24, figure 48.

A street in Zeytun. From Hugo Grothe, *Geographische charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei und dem südlichen mesopatamisch-iranischen randgebirge* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1909), plate 26, figure 51.



A Barracks
B Reading hall of the American Compound, where the Surenians stayed before their exile to Der Zor
C German Hospital
D American Compound
E Kümbet neighborhood, where Dr. Der Ghazarian lived
F First Protestant Church
G Catholic Church and Franciscan Monastery
H Citadel
I Great Mosque
J Covered markets
K Bloody Valley River (Kanlı Dere)
L Holy Mother of God Apostolic Church

Map of Marash, drawn by Dr. Artin Der Ghazarian from memory in Aleppo, 1929. From Grigor H. Galustian, *Marash kam Germanik ew heros Zeytun* (New York: Kochnak Tparan, 1934), inside back cover.

The German hospital in Marash, where Dr. Artin Der Ghazarian practiced medicine. From Hugo Grothe, *Geographische charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei und dem südlichen mesopatamisch-iranischen randgebirge* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1909), plate 28, figure 53.

Melkon Atamian, dentist of Marash, and his family. Hagop stands far left, next to his mother, Mariam. The youngest child in the middle must be Nazaret. The photograph must have been taken in Marash, around 1911 or 1912, before Melkon and his two older children, daughter Zaruhi and son Krikor, standing in the back, left for the United States. The lives of Melkon, Hagop, and Nazaret became entwined with the Zeytun Gospels. From *The Cilician Armenian Ordeal*, edited by Paren Kazanjian (Boston: HYE Intentions, 1989), 101. Reproduced with permission from Sonia Atamian Reeves.

Sirarpie Der Nersessian (seated, in the printed dress), Rose Valland (standing behind her, wearing round glasses), and fellow students with Professor Gabriel Millet at the École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1929. Within a few years, Valland would secretly document the Nazi theft of art in Paris, while Der Nersessian dedicated her life to the study of artworks that had survived genocide. Sirarpie Der Nersessian Papers and Photographs, Dumbarton Oaks Archives, AR.PH.Misc.219. Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.

Exiled from their hometowns, survivors of the Armenian Genocide in transit as refugees around Easter 1918 in Jerusalem. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, American National Red Cross Collection, LC-DIG-anrc-02122.

The devastation of Armenian religious culture. Survivors return to find destruction and disarray at the Church of Saint Stephen in Trabzon, 1918. Photograph: Paris, AGBU Nubar Library.

The Mesrob Mashtots Institute for Ancient Manuscripts, known as the Matenadaran, in Yerevan, where the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels is preserved. Statues of the great men of Armenian history adorn the façade of this Soviet-era landmark. Toros Roslin, the only artist, is the first on the left, holding a pen and a tablet. Photograph: Author, 2012.

Medieval Hromkla (present-day Rumkale), looking northwest. Photograph: Author, 2014.

Medieval Hromkla (present-day Rumkale). North *khachkar* (cross-stone) on the tower façade, second half of the twelfth century. Mutilated at an unknown date, parts of the initials of Christ and the bottom arm of an Armenian cross remain. Under the cross, an eagle with outstretched wings is an example of the virtuoso stone carving of the region. Photograph: Mia Fuller, 2014.

Zeytun (present-day Süleymanlı). Photograph: Author, 2014.

The famous fountain of Zeytun. The frame above the spout once contained an Armenian inscription. It was expunged on an Ottoman official's order in 1915. Photograph: Mia Fuller, 2014.

J. Paul Getty Museum Director Timothy Potts and Archbishop Moushegh Mardirossian of the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America with the Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels mark the settlement of *Western Prelacy v. Getty* at the Getty Museum, Los Angeles, November 10, 2015. Photograph: Courtesy of the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America.

Chapter 5

ALEPPO

Survivors Reclaim Their Heritage

• ALEPPO. A SHANTYTOWN ON THE OUTSKIRTS. 1925.

There was no wind in the dry expanse outside Aleppo. The survivors huddled in makeshift tents under a pitiless sun. Out of their emaciated faces expressionless eyes stared at him without seeing. Father Ardavazt Surmeyan stood before them in his dusty black cassock, holding his Bible and his cross wrapped in a handkerchief. Terror and pity filled him. These people who were now his charge, barely holding on to life, were as fragments of the towns, neighborhoods, and villages that remained behind, amputated of their Armenians. He was powerless to make them whole again. The few derisory cartloads of food, water, and blankets he had brought would never be enough. Tears streamed down his face as he made ready to recite a prayer. A woman spoke with a hoarse voice. He thought she said, "Bless us." Maybe she said, "Bury us."

. . .

The name "Haleb" (Aleppo) is a sacred term, a magical incantation almost, for survivors of the Armenian Genocide and their descendants. As a transportation hub with a gleaming new train station, Aleppo served as the center of the genocidal network. Ottoman officials used the city as a staging ground for the movement of internally exiled civilians and as a point of transit. They set up rudimentary prison camps on the outskirts of the city, where deportees fell prey to starvation, disease, exploitation, and plunder. Ladies from Aleppo toured the camps in carriages to buy the deportee's last possessions on the cheap, even demanding, "Are there any children for sale?"[1]

Survivors' narratives describe Aleppo as a station on the way to the greater horrors of the Syrian desert and the terminus of the death caravans, Der Zor. Yet Aleppo was also where some managed to evade exile, bribe their way out, go into hiding, or find some way to escape. After the war, Aleppo became the center for humanitarian relief for survivors.[2] Along with aid programs, the city's economic opportunities attracted survivors and refugees like Dr. Der Ghazarian to settle, swelling the Armenian community there. Still more survivors, like the Atamian family of Marash, spent time in Aleppo before moving on to other countries, including the United States.

One of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world, Aleppo was the capital of the Ottoman province that bore its name, a node in regional and international trade, a transportation hub for overland routes as well as the modern railway, and a religious and intellectual center. In addition to Aleppine families with deep local roots, Aleppo always featured expatriate or transitory communities such as foreign merchants, diplomats, missionaries, and adventurers. On the eve of World War I, the Armenian community of that city numbered around thirteen thousand.[3] It consisted of merchants, craftsmen, and priests established for centuries in a great and prosperous city that was a hub of the long-distance commerce. For centuries, every time a calamity struck an Armenian community in Anatolia, Aleppo received an influx of new transplants, bringing with them new skills, ideas, and material culture, who integrated themselves within the city and its Armenian community. The community mostly adhered to the Apostolic Church, but it also had its own Catholic clergy and Protestant meeting houses. The Armenians of Aleppo counted political and economic power brokers among their ranks, including a deputy in the Ottoman parliament.[4]

The genocide and its aftermath transformed Aleppo's Armenian community. In the courtyard of the Church of the Forty Martyrs, founded in the twelfth century, one now heard the Zeytun Armenian dialect along with the soft Turkish of Marash and Aintab, next to the

Arabic speech of local Armenians, who henceforth became known as *al-arman al-aqdam*, "the old Armenians." This time, however, the new arrivals were more numerous and more traumatized than ever before. Their settling in Aleppo met with resistance, and they struggled to adapt. Eventually, they transformed the city, just as the city transformed them into one of the most vibrant Armenian communities of the Middle East. Indeed, genocide survivors and their descendants came to dominate the Armenian community of Aleppo, sidelining the "old Armenians."

One of these genocide survivors was Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeyan, a transplant from Istanbul who led the community in the critical years between the two world wars.[5] He was also the first scholar to study the Zeytun Gospels.

THE BLOODSTAINED COIN: GENOCIDE AND DISPOSSESSION

Ottoman perpetrators of the genocide murdered Armenians, exiled them from their ancestral lands, and dismantled their communal life. They also destroyed cultural assets and confiscated property and wealth. Dispossession was often the victims' initial ordeal. Combined with other kinds of violence, the economic deprivation of Armenians helped ensure their ultimate demise. Indeed, economic violations such as the despoliation of property and the pauperization of the targeted group constitute components of the crime of genocide.[6]

At the individual level, Armenians experienced violence and degradation of increasing intensity beginning in April 1915. In each and every town, when the Ottoman government ordered the Armenians out of their homes, it also gave them specific instructions regarding their property—money, homes, land, and livestock. Those ordered to be deported tried to make provisions for their businesses, fields, agricultural animals, and homes but were generally prevented from freely liquidating their assets or taking much with them. Officials registered their property and assured them that the state would

safeguard it. Sometimes deportees received receipts noting their belongings had been recorded.[7]

However, once caravans of deportees set out into the countryside they were vulnerable to attacks by government and paramilitary forces as well as exposure. Allowing for some variations by region, there was a cruel consistency in the treatment of the convoys. The authorities made few provisions of food, water, or medicine, leaving deportees vulnerable to hunger, disease, and the elements. They separated men from their families, leaving women and children undefended. The gendarmes in charge of the convoys, in concert with brigands, paramilitary groups, and the feared Ottoman special operations forces known as the "Special Organization," took the cash, valuables, or jewelry that deportees carried on their persons, sometimes even their clothes, along with conveyances such as carts or beasts of burden.[8] They made the convoys walk enormous distances with little support, enduring repeated raids from local groups, rape, and kidnapping. By abducting women and children and selling or bartering them, perpetrators turned human beings into property as well. In some cases, mass executions of convoys took place in gorges or isolated places away from population centers. By the time they reached the final concentration camps in Mesopotamia, the survivors of so many traumas had been utterly pauperized.

Eyewitness accounts are replete with reports of pillage and plunder that went hand in hand with deportation, murder, and kidnapping. Persons in positions of power seized their opportunity to enrich themselves. Chances also abounded for the ordinary folk to take advantage of this state-sanctioned or state-condoned looting, and even women and children joined in the plunder. Looters grabbed money, jewelry, bank checks, and even pried out gold teeth. Members of paramilitary bands tucked away bloodstained coins into their saddlebags.[9]

The image of the bloodstained coin symbolizes the plunder. As they witnessed the destruction of their own communities, Armenians realized that they had been swept up in an empire-wide, state-

directed process and that their own dispossession was both one of its objectives and one of its motivations. In the last few years historians as well as attorneys have paid increased attention to the economic dimension of the destruction of Ottoman Armenians. They now recognize the massive and multifaceted transfer of wealth from the Armenians to elements of the Muslim population and to the state as one of the critical dimensions of the genocide. The despoliation of Armenians constituted one of the ideological and one of the material objectives of the Ottoman state's ruling party, the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), also known as the Young Turks, who designed and ordered the genocide.[10] The ideologues of the CUP advocated a new, nationalist vision of society that emphasized Turkism instead of the previous Ottoman model of a society that was dominated by Muslims but where non-Muslims could nonetheless partake in a kind of Ottoman cosmopolitanism, albeit within established limits and as second-class subjects. In the economic sphere, Young Turk ideologues promoted the notion of a "National Economy." This meant, in practice, the creation and promotion of a Muslim bourgeoisie out of the existing Ottoman bourgeoisie, by excising its sizeable segment of Armenians, Greeks, and other minorities.[11] Programs to develop the National Economy intensified throughout the war, in part because of the profits realized through the confiscation of Armenian assets.

State bodies mobilized a battery of laws, temporary legal measures, and directives to provide a legal veneer to the deportation of Armenian civilians and the mass confiscation of their assets, sometimes after the deportations and the confiscations had already been launched. The Temporary Law on Deportation issued on May 27, 1915, legitimized the large-scale deportation of Armenian Ottomans that had been ongoing since early April. Less than a month later, a directive authorized the creation of local commissions charged with "safeguarding" so-called "abandoned property."[12] This directive provided the legal basis and bureaucratic structure for the

confiscations throughout the murderous summer of 1915. By the fall, the "Temporary Law on the property, liabilities, and debts owed deported persons," dated September 26, 1915, added detail to the procedures.[13] A regulation published on November 8, 1915, clarified the application of the September law.[14] These multiple legal measures cumulatively created a means, a process, and a bureaucracy for the confiscation of Armenian assets. They indicate that the genocide of the Armenians did not take place as a result of a breakdown of law and order. To the contrary, the perpetrators of the genocide manipulated the legal system to implement their plan of annihilating the Ottoman Armenians.[15]

The regulations crafted a legal language emanating from the center of power. In its misleading nature, the legal rhetoric, in addition to the laws themselves, was implicated in the genocidal process. The law's euphemism for Armenian assets was *emvâl-ı metrûke*, meaning "abandoned properties." In reality, Armenians did not voluntarily abandon or relinquish their properties. Rather, the state forced them to leave their properties behind when it ordered them into exile.[16] The laws deceptively assured Armenians that their property would be safeguarded and returned to them. In reality, however, the laws justified the measures taken against Armenians and provided instructions for the disposal of their assets. In particular, the laws mandated the creation of local commissions, entrusted with registering, inventorying, and securing the wealth left behind by the deportees, as well as with liquidating them in specific instances, all under state supervision.[17] However, numerous internal contradictions appear within the body of the law.[18] Some articles stated that the state would protect the deportees' possessions, while others decreed that the state would settle Muslim migrants, refugees from the recent Balkan wars, in the deportees' homes. In order words, the laws explicitly dispossessed one group of civilians in favor of another.[19]

While the laws and directives created a legal structure for the confiscations, the central committee of the ruling party, the CUP,

closely supervised their implementation. However, a gulf loomed between the legalistic and orderly tone of the laws and the chaos and corruption of their realization on the ground.[20] The process offered numerous opportunities for corruption, profiteering, and looting. Well-placed individuals, particularly local elites and CUP-affiliated dignitaries, amassed personal fortunes. In addition to corruption by those in authority, the circumstances of the genocide also provided opportunities for theft by those lower on the social scale. The confiscation of Ottoman Armenian wealth being a state-sponsored campaign, the corruption was tacitly sanctioned since state representatives participated in it and, with few exceptions, turned a blind eye to it. The state and its institutions, including the military, emerged as the primary beneficiaries of the plunder of Armenian wealth, along with the new Turkish Muslim bourgeoisie and the Muslim refugees.[21] In a cruel twist, the fortune of Armenians was also used to fund the cost of the deportation itself; thus the victims were made to pay for their own destruction.

Overall, the organized confiscation of Armenian possessions captured both moveable and immoveable assets. The laws contained instructions for the disposal of debts and liabilities, always to the detriment of the Armenians. Bank accounts were effectively frozen and confiscated by the state.[22] The Ottoman state even sought to cash in murdered Armenians' insurance policies. As Interior Minister Talaat Pasha put it to U.S. ambassador Henry Morgenthau, since the Armenians had died without heirs, the state now stood to inherit their estates.[23] Talaat neglected to mention that the government's actions had caused the Armenians' death. The regional "Abandoned Properties Commissions" busied themselves identifying and inventorying Armenian immoveable assets such as homes, businesses, workshops, factories, gardens, and agricultural lands. Sometimes Muslim refugees were settled in homes as soon as the Armenians were expelled, as in Zeytun. In other instances the commissions reserved properties for the use of a state body, or redistributed them to favored persons

or organizations, or auctioned them off. Moveable property left behind, including money, furniture, jewelry, was simply looted.

The takeover of real property that Armenian individuals had owned is difficult to calculate, in part because the land title records, or cadastral records, remain sealed in Turkey today. Indeed, as recently as 2005 the National Security Council of Turkey reaffirmed the long-standing prohibition of research into land registers of the period around 1915 except in limited cases, deeming it contrary to national security. The stated reason is that the information in the registers "could be abused for the purpose of unfounded genocide and property claims."[24] In other words, the Turkish state keeps the land registers sealed to guard against possible litigation by heirs of Ottoman Armenians.

THE MUTILATED MANUSCRIPT: GENOCIDE AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

Religious and cultural properties constitute a subset of the confiscated assets. They form a special case not only because of their economic value but also because culture and religion constitute such important markers for group identities.

The legal language of the Ottoman confiscation of Armenian wealth did not institute separate categories for what we might term art or architecture. For example, the laws did not make specific provisions for works of art, but rather subsumed them under the broader category of moveable assets or furnishings. Eyewitness accounts of the looting of Armenian homes note valuable household effects like furniture, copper pots, carpets, even sewing machines. But works of art owned by individual Armenians are not mentioned as such in archival documents and rarely in eyewitness accounts. The Armenian bourgeoisie possessed richly appointed homes, and some also collected modern fine arts, either European imports or the creations of Ottoman artists.[25] Many modern Ottoman painters and artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Armenians,

as were some of the emerging art collectors.[26] In addition, many elites, like Dr. Der Ghazarian in Marash, had amassed personal collections of medieval art and antiquities. Thus research on the fate of works of fine art owned by Armenian individuals, during and after the genocide, is arduous if not impossible.

In spite of this, some information is available for Armenian cultural heritage, that is, historic and especially religious works of Armenian art and architecture. This is due to the fact that Ottoman law distinguished between the property of individuals and the property of communal religious endowments. Religious and charitable foundations (*waqf* or *vakıf*) would under normal circumstances be considered permanent inalienable endowments subject to special protections. Endowment properties comprised religious architecture and related buildings and as such come under today's concept of cultural heritage. Reflecting the special status of such properties, the confiscation laws contained specific instructions for the takeover of religious endowments. For example, the 1915 "Abandoned Properties" laws tasked separate state bodies with the seizure of specific types of properties. Thus the Ministry of Pious Foundations was to acquire the properties of Armenian communal religious endowments; the Ministry of Education was to take over buildings and furnishings connected to education, such as schools and monasteries; and the Ministry of Finance was to assume control over much of the rest.[27] The law also mandated that the state distribute endowment properties free of charge to *muhacir*s (Muslim migrants).[28] This meant that the endowment properties of the three Armenian churches (Apostolic, Protestant, and Catholic) and of the Armenian community's numerous charitable or educational foundations could be seized, sold, and disposed of for the benefit of Muslim refugees without any compensation. In practice the laws created the means to liquidate the communal institutions of Ottoman Armenians and thus to confiscate the Armenian architecture that had flourished in Anatolia for centuries.

The "Abandoned Properties" laws also contained instructions for the disposal of what we would term Armenian art, especially religious art and liturgical objects. Thus the laws mandated that "objects, pictures and holy books" located in churches be inventoried and safeguarded.[29] Once the congregants of a church had been resettled in the new location to which they were being deported, the state was to give them the holy objects of their original church. The law made no mention of the special cultural value of some of these objects or their religious function. Officials who disposed of these objects were not required to have any expertise in their evaluation, or indeed any appreciation of their special cultural meaning or religious importance. In practice the laws allowed the state to take possession of the contents of religious structures, such as holy objects, relics, liturgical vessels, icons, works of art, manuscripts, printed books, carpets, pews, and indeed any type of furnishing or supplies, from a medieval icon to a piece of chalk. And contrary to the law, in reality the state neither safeguarded such holy objects nor returned them to their congregants.

THE DESECRATED CHURCH: GENOCIDE AND RELIGION

The Catholicos of Cilicia, Sahag II Khabayan, who witnessed the misery of the deportation convoys along the route of his own exile, lucidly observed that the Ottoman state's comprehensive restructuring of the Armenian Church during the genocide "is nothing but the destruction of our historic Church, our spiritual center, the heart and soul of our people."[30] The legal measures the Ottoman state used to dispossess the Armenians and to despoil their cultural heritage also functioned to cripple their religious institutions. In a matter of months, the laws dismantled the centuries-old infrastructure of Armenian Christianity, beginning with the decapitation of its leadership.

On the eve of the genocide, the church was the principal institution among a number of ancient and modern structures through which the Armenian community governed itself. The Patriarch of Constantinople acted as the political representative of the Armenian community to the state and the sultan. Mehmet II had created the office of the Patriarch in 1461 to administer the Ottoman Empire's "Armenian *millet*," a section of its non-Muslims that comprised Armenians as well as all non-Chalcedonian Christians, such as the Copts and Syriac Orthodox. This political office was grafted on to the ancient religious hierarchy of the Armenian Church worldwide. Thus the Armenian Church in the Ottoman Empire also comprised the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had occupied the Apostolic See of Saint James in the holy city's Armenian Quarter since the fourth century. The Catholicos of the Great House of Cilicia with his seat in Sis, the former capital of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia, did not have a formal political office. He outranked the Patriarch in Istanbul within the church hierarchy but was reduced to maintaining a small ecclesiastical jurisdiction over certain parishes in Cilicia, including Zeytun. The Catholicos at Sis occupied the office once held by Constantine I, the commissioner of the Zeytun Gospels. All these clerics were theoretically subordinate to the Catholicos of All Armenians with his seat in Echmiadzin, which fell at the time within the Russian Empire.[31] However, with the 1863 establishment of the Armenian National Constitution, the community had instituted an internal government in which the church shared the leadership of Ottoman Armenians with secular representatives elected by the community.

At the onset of the genocide, the Ottoman state suspended the Armenian National Constitution. When the government rounded up the secular leadership of the Armenian community on April 24, 1915, it also arrested and exiled the leaders of the church. The government abruptly abolished the 450-year-old office of the Patriarchate of Constantinople on July 28, 1916, exiling Patriarch Zaven

Der Yeghiayan to Baghdad and later Mosul, where he spent the war years. Even the seminarians studying theology at Armash were exiled.[32] Furthermore, the Ottoman government unilaterally dissolved the Catholicosate of Cilicia. It exiled Catholicos Sahag II to Aleppo in late 1915 and later to Jerusalem, styling him as the "Catholicos-Patriarch of Cilicia, Constantinople, and Jerusalem," a grand new title with no political authority.[33]

The demotion and exile of the church leaders was matched by the degradation of clergy at all ranks. During the deportations throughout the empire, priests were singled out for torture, murder, and even crucifixions. While priests were exiled and killed, the treatment of the church buildings themselves went even further than what the deportation and confiscation laws mandated. Ottoman officials burned or destroyed churches outright, turning the destruction into a spectacle and giving notice that all Armenians were now marked for violence.[34] State bodies also took over church buildings and converted them to other uses, such as prisons.[35]

The destruction or takeover of churches, monasteries, and communal schools constitutes a category of the dispossession and destruction of Ottoman Armenian culture that can be studied somewhat better than the loss of moveable objects and art. This is because on the eve of World War I the Patriarchate in Istanbul had conducted an inventory of churches, monasteries, and schools under its jurisdiction.[36] In addition, the Catholicosate of Cilicia maintained detailed information on the lands, buildings, and properties in its own jurisdiction.[37] These documents can help evaluate what was seized and destroyed, even though they have limitations as sources.[38]

These and similar materials can be mined to document the damage to Armenian religious and communal buildings. However, the contents of these buildings are another matter. Only a fraction of the uncounted works of art that were once preserved in the thousands of Armenian churches and schools in Anatolia are traceable. It is difficult to quantify these losses; the number of lost religious

manuscripts alone could be around thirty thousand.[39] The confiscation laws contained repeated instructions about record-keeping, and accordingly, the "Abandoned Properties Commissions" reportedly kept records. However, no such registers have come to light. They may have been lost or destroyed, or if the Turkish government still holds them, it keeps them sealed.[40] Yet even if the commissions did inventory religious icons, relics, and manuscripts as mandated, whether the officials had the knowledge and expertise to identify Armenian liturgical vessels and icons in any meaningful way remains a question. Thus the lack of Ottoman record-keeping regarding Armenian art confiscated during the genocide—either because no records were created in the first place, or that existing records are concealed or otherwise unavailable—makes research on the fate of Armenian cultural heritage dauntingly difficult.

Beyond the language of the law, eyewitness accounts and postwar testimonies shed light on the treatment of Armenian religious objects. Many of these objects were squandered; some were intentionally stabbed, mutilated, wrecked, torn up, or left to decay; some were reused, such as looted precious objects melted down for their valuable metals; and an unknown number made their way into private hands and were sold openly or on the black market. Much of the centuries-old art held in Anatolia's monasteries and churches was destroyed when the buildings were burned, as in the case of the monastery near Zeytun where a band of rebels held out in March 1915.[41] Even if the churches were left standing, their moveable contents were looted or wrecked and left to decay on site. A Muslim soldier in the Ottoman military, serving in the east near Kigi, toured a deserted Armenian village during a rest stop:

> There is no mosque here, only a largish Armenian church. I guess the village must have been entirely Armenian. I walked through the church very thoroughly. There was quite a large library within it. I quickly looked through some of the books. They were entirely writ-

> ten in the Armenian script. The beautifully bound books with the pictures of Jesus, Mary and the Apostles in them have been torn to pieces and thrown on the ground. The bookshelves have been destroyed. The pews in the church were also missing. It is like an empty warehouse.[42]

A narrative eyewitness testimony like this Turkish source gives us a sense of the massive scale of looting and destruction that took place "off the books" and which no "Abandoned Properties Commission" official ever documented. This type of destruction exceeds what the Ottoman archives would ever able to reveal even if all existing records were available. It is a function of the genocidal process as it unfolded in Anatolia that many of the crimes went undocumented, just as they were later to remain unpunished.

As material remnants of a once-rich religious culture, a fraction of the books, manuscripts, and art objects once sheltered in Ottoman Armenian foundations survive today in private and public collections. The Ottoman government did seize such objects in certain instances. For example, Interior Minister Talaat Pasha personally ordered the extensive library of the Armenian school in Sivas to be sent to Istanbul in October 1916, and he was insistent enough to repeat the order five months later.[43] Nevertheless, the archival trail on the Sivas library stops there and its fate is unknown. Some scholars suspect that Armenian art objects seized during the genocide remain in deep storage in Turkish state institutions, museums, or libraries today.[44] In the rare instance when a Turkish museum displays a work of medieval Armenian art, it does not acknowledge the work's provenance nor its connection to Armenians, even when the object features prominent inscriptions in the Armenian alphabet.[45]

Apart from the absence of official Ottoman records, Armenian records about art objects are also fragmentary. For architecture, researchers can make use of the inventories, however imperfect, of Armenian churches, monasteries, and schools before the genocide.

Yet there are few similar sources for the religious manuscripts, objects, and icons that these churches and monasteries once contained. Unlike real property that had to be quantified for tax assessment, there was little impetus to create inventories of sacred church objects in Ottoman law. By the late 1880s, scholars and priests were making headway in research on medieval Armenian book arts, and inventories began to appear. However, by 1915 only a fraction of the treasures held by the scattered and remote monasteries of Anatolia had been cataloged. The Zeytun Gospels is a case in point. The documents that shed light on the Zeytun Gospels' history up to 1915 are all Armenian texts, not Ottoman official sources. Yet in 1915, even though a few scholars knew of it, it was neither fully cataloged nor described, let alone photographed.

Witnessing the assault on culture that accompanied the genocide, some individuals made it their mission to save works of art, especially religious objects and relics. For example, the Reverend Ernest Partridge and his wife had spent fifteen years as American missionaries in Sivas when they witnessed the onset of the genocide. Upon their flight from Sivas, they managed to take with them thirty religious manuscripts from that city's famed monasteries, and eventually entrusted them to the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem.[46] The urgency of retrieving works of Armenian art while it was still possible seized others well beyond Anatolia. University of Michigan professor Francis W. Kelsey traveled to Turkey with the express purpose of collecting manuscripts. "Now or never" was the time to purchase medieval manuscripts from "unappreciative hands," he wrote. Kelsey was concerned that soon no record would remain of the Christian communities of Anatolia.[47]

Most poignant, however, were the efforts of Armenians themselves, who often took terrible risks to save elements of their religion and culture while they themselves were targeted for extinction. The Zeytun Gospels has come down to us today precisely because of the proactive decisions of specific individuals to save it. Numerous

manuscripts and objects made their way to safety in equally dramatic circumstances. The Mush Homiliarium is the most celebrated of these objects. Measuring roughly twenty-two by twenty-eight inches and weighing around sixty-one pounds, this large-format manuscript was created in 1200 and constituted one of the most valuable relics of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles near Mush. In 1915 the monastery was attacked, its priests murdered, and its possessions looted. Two women from Mush, who came upon the manuscript in the monastery's ruins, divided the heavy volume between them. Each carried half as they fled. Eventually, the two halves of the Homiliarium were reunited in Yerevan, in the Matenadaran, where the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels also resides.[48]

EARLY CLAIMS OF RESTITUTION

As profound as the Armenian losses had been during the genocide, efforts to bring aid to survivors, to seek justice, and to claim reparations emerged immediately following the Armistice of Mudros of October 30, 1918, between the Ottoman Empire and the Allies. Alongside international humanitarian organizations, Armenian groups and individuals set about providing assistance, reuniting separated families, rescuing orphans and young women abducted from the deportation convoys, and seeking the remnants of their cultural heritage, especially religious objects and symbols.

Armenians also prioritized claims to their lost cultural heritage. Indeed, the first formal call for restitution for the damage inflicted on Armenian cultural heritage arose within five weeks of the armistice. On December 9, 1918, a member of the Ottoman parliament from Sivas Province introduced a report that documented the destruction of Armenian churches and their properties: "from monasteries with bells to valuable antiques in churches have been ruined and destroyed, all valuables seized."[49] Surviving Armenian members of parliament also demanded the repeal of the deportation and confiscation laws.[50]

As soon as the Patriarch of Constantinople, Zaven Der Yeghiayan, returned to Istanbul from exile in early 1919, he revitalized the patriarchate. The Ottoman government had reduced the Ottoman Armenian community's most important institution to dormancy from 1916 to 1919. Patriarch Zaven now galvanized his remaining clergy and members of the community to aid survivors. He also set up the "Information Bureau" (*deghegadu divan*), staffed it with historians and jurists, and tasked it with gathering reports and documents about the genocide for eventual prosecutions of perpetrators.[51] This bureau functioned only for a short window, then shut down when Kemalists took over Istanbul in 1922. But the zeal with which it accumulated materials shows the Armenian community's consciousness that a crime of unprecedented scale had been committed upon them, and it signals their readiness to demand reparations. The Patriarch included the return of communal and private properties among his priorities. However, numerous efforts to abrogate the law on "Abandoned Properties" met with little success. The Patriarch had managed to recover some communal (*waqf*) properties, but he made little headway in the return of private properties. At one point, the Information Bureau discovered that the "Central Commission for Abandoned Properties" in Istanbul had warehoused plundered safes, antiquities, ancient manuscripts, and sacred objects on the second floor of the Kürkçü Han in the Grand Bazaar.[52] Nevertheless, efforts to recover these objects failed and their fate remains unknown.

Armenians also pressed their claim for reparations internationally. Thus at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the heads of the Armenian delegation, Boghos Nubar Pasha and Avedis Aharonian, presented a joint report on reparations for the damages suffered by the Armenian nation. This document constitutes an early attempt to quantify the economic dimension of the genocide, to which they adduced inventories of churches, schools, and communal and religious properties.[53] It assesses the material losses suffered by the Armenian Church alone at $3.7 billion (about $50 billion today).[54]

In the end there was neither restitution nor justice. The window of opportunity to reverse or mitigate the devastation of the Armenian Genocide closed with the rise of the Kemalists and the eventual establishment of the Republic of Turkey. By the early 1920s, the geopolitical map of the region had changed entirely. By that time, the homeland of Ottoman Armenians fell within the Republic of Turkey, a sliver of eastern Armenia formed the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the surrounding Arab countries, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Iraq, where most survivors had fled, had been constituted republics under the French and British Mandates. Changes in international geopolitical priorities meant that justice for Armenians was sidelined. The Republic of Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's leadership harbored little sympathy for the claims or rights of Anatolia's Armenians.

In fact genocide survivors who had returned to their homelands, and pockets of Armenians who remained in what was now eastern Turkey, faced new waves of intercommunal violence, relentless harassment, vigilante violence condoned or ignored by the state, as well as state-sponsored discrimination and renewed confiscations of their property. The new Republic of Turkey actively discouraged the return of Armenian refugees through means including denationalization and denial of citizenship.[55] During the decades following the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, Anatolia's Armenian centers continued to lose their Armenian population. In a process that many experienced as a repeat of the genocidal violence, they were forced to leave again, this time permanently. The republic turned the wartime confiscation of the seized properties into a fait accompli and pursued the spoliation of Armenian assets in renewed forms. The continuity in leadership between the Young Turk-dominated late Ottoman Empire and the early Turkish republic meant not only that many genocide perpetrators went unpunished, but also that they held positions of power and influence.[56]

As for the Armenian Church, not one of its institutional units emerged unscathed from the genocide and its aftermath. Just when the church was deprived of much of its income due to the seizure or destruction of its properties, it also bore the crushing burden of providing succor to its faithful, now much diminished in number, pauperized, and living precariously as refugees in foreign lands.

The Catholicos of All Armenians in Echmiadzin retained his supreme authority over the church, but his power decreased precipitously as the Soviet regime seized many church properties in the 1920s and undermined the church's traditional dominance of society in keeping with Communist ideology.[57]

The Patriarch in Istanbul retained a role in the Republic of Turkey as the head of its remaining Armenian community. The Lausanne treaty, signed in 1923, which established the postwar political reality, ostensibly enshrined certain rights for Turkish Armenians as a recognized religious minority, but oversight and enforcement of these rights were lacking. In practice the Patriarch had to contend with constant pressure from the state and renewed confiscations of church property in the capital and the provinces.[58]

After returning to Sis in 1919, the Catholicos of Cilicia was forced into exile again two years later.[59] The properties of the See of Cilicia were seized or destroyed, including the medieval cathedral and dependencies at Sis, now known as Kozan. After a nomadic period, the Catholicos formally moved the seat of the catholicosate to Antelias, Lebanon, by 1930.[60] Evocatively, the new center of the See of Cilicia was the site of an orphanage for genocide survivors run by Near East Relief, the U.S. humanitarian organization. Shortly after his move to Antelias, the elderly Catholicos Sahag II reflected upon "his children" murdered since the dawn of the century, and the finality of his exile: "It causes me the profoundest, mortal pain to realize that I have become the last catholicos to serve on the Cilician throne of 800 years. My throne is shattered; my palatial cathedral, desecrated."[61]

SALVAGING THE REMAINS OF ARMENIAN CULTURE

Just as the murder and dispossession of Armenians were fading from the conscience of the international community, Armenian leaders, especially priests, were confronting the insurmountable tasks that faced the survivors. One of these priests was Ardavazt Surmeyan. When he arrived in Aleppo in 1925, he had been through the hardships of the genocide as well as its violent aftermath. He led the Armenians of Aleppo through the treacherous years following the genocide. He also pursued ambitious projects for the preservation of Armenian culture.

Surmeyan's political leadership and intellectual legacy tower over the modern history of the Armenian community of Aleppo. The genocide and subsequent destruction of much of Ottoman Armenian communal life impacted Surmeyan's life, professional trajectory, and intellectual output. The genocide uprooted him from his city and set him on a trajectory from place to place; it shattered his youthful dreams and still haunted him while he strove to reconstruct his life and give it purpose in a new environment.

Nothing in the first three decades of Surmeyan's life suggested that he would one day become a man of the cloth, minister to refugees in shantytowns, or advocate for his flock's political rights with French colonial officials in Syria. He was born Dikran Surmeyan in 1889 in Agn in central Anatolia (present-day Kemaliye, Turkey), a cousin of the noted poet and public intellectual known by the pen name of Siamanto (1878–1915).[62] After the massacres of 1896 in that region, his family moved to Istanbul. There young Dikran studied at some of the most modern educational institutions of the Ottoman capital's Armenian community.[63] In 1909, in the wake of the Constitutional Revolution, he began a career as a teacher in Istanbul and in provincial cities. He also achieved some note as a journalist and public intellectual.[64]

Surmeyan's prewar writings contained an optimism and energy that were dashed by the horrors of World War I and the Armenian Genocide. Surmeyan was conscripted during the general mobilization at the onset of the war.[65] Even though he was only twenty-six in 1915, the prominence he had already achieved as a public intellectual landed him on the Ottoman state's list of Armenian intellectuals, notables, and community leaders to be arrested and exiled from Istanbul around April 24, the date that symbolizes the onset of the Armenian Genocide. Having gone into hiding, Surmeyan was able to elude arrest. Instead of the son, the Ottoman police arrested his father and sent him to a prison in Ayash in central Anatolia. Most of the prisoners at Ayash were murdered; the accounts of survivors tell of harrowing conditions where the imprisoned, unaware of any charges against them, saw the removal and killing of their fellow prisoners and the deterioration of their own health. Surmeyan's cousin Siamanto, the author of fiery political poems and a member of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, was also among those arrested and exiled to Ayash on April 24, and was assassinated shortly thereafter.[66] The senior Surmeyan was among the few who managed to return to Istanbul alive.[67]

These years transformed Surmeyan profoundly. In what appears to be an abrupt change of vocation, shortly after the armistice in 1918 he was ordained as a celibate priest.[68] Joining the church at the age of twenty-nine without any apparent theological or religious study or experience was highly unusual. Indeed, little in Surmeyan's prewar intellectual output appears to evince a religious calling. His transformation from progressive Ottoman intellectual to a member of the oldest and most hierarchical institution of the Armenian community, the Apostolic Church, can only signal a radical departure in his life's direction. Perhaps his experiences during the war years caused a resurgence of faith. Or perhaps, witnessing the extreme hardships of war and genocide prompted him to reorient his life toward service to his community.

Surmeyan's career in the church was to be a brilliant one. Quickly promoted to the rank of *vartabed* (archimandrite), he was appointed deputy Prelate, then Prelate, of Konya Province in central Anatolia.[69] This position of responsibility was certainly due to the fact that the ranks of Armenian priests had thinned as a result of the genocide, but it must have been also an acknowledgment of Surmeyan's exceptional talents as leader. Surmeyan found the prelacy in disarray. His flock consisted in forty thousand refugees, the remnants of once-flourishing communities. The church infrastructure had also been decimated, as the provincial governor had personally ordered the destruction of the church and school in the provincial capital.[70]

This was the time when Anatolia was caught between the remnants of the Ottoman state, European colonial domination, and the rising Kemalist movement that sought to recast Anatolia as a Turkish homeland. Konya was the site of a 1920 rebellion that pitted these forces against each other. The Kemalist nationalist movement had no empathy for Armenians trying to remake their communities in the wake of the genocide. This tension culminated in confrontations like the Battle of Marash of February 1920, where the Zeytun Gospels was lost. For his part, Surmeyan was arrested and spent twenty months in 1920–22 imprisoned by the Kemalists in Erzerum, with the Greek Metropolitan as his cellmate. Despite all the hardships of imprisonment, he singled out the fact that he was deprived of his books and of the ability to write: "Our personal library and all the prelacy archives were either burned or disappeared."[71]

Freed in the general amnesty of May 1922, Surmeyan returned to Istanbul, where he worked as a teacher, preacher, and editor of the monthly periodical at the Armenian Patriarchate.[72] In 1924, only six years after his ordination as priest, Surmeyan was appointed Prelate of Aleppo, a politically and religiously important post. He arrived in that city in early 1925 and held the office until 1940. He continued his rise through the church ranks, being promoted to bishop in 1929 and to archbishop in 1933.[73]

The Prelacy of Beroa, the ancient name of Aleppo that the Apostolic Church continues to use, was one of the largest and most important prelacies in the Middle East.[74] The Prelate's authority encompassed the entirety of northern Syria, from the Mediterranean to the Tigris River. Since the creation of the Republic of Turkey and the final forced exodus of many survivor communities from their ancient homelands, Aleppo and its hinterland were frequently their destination or point of transit. The roles and responsibilities of the Prelate of Aleppo had multiplied, as he served as regional head of the church but also as the de facto political leader of the heterogeneous and vulnerable Armenian community and its chief diplomat. Surmeyan wrote:

> The Armenian [community of] Aleppo of 1925 was not the Armenian [community of] Aleppo of 1900–1914. It now consisted of the tragic remnants . . . of the murderous years 1915–1922, of the survivors of those horrors, from the valley of the Orontes until the distant waters of the Tigris, including the blood-soaked Euphrates and the Khabur [River]. In this vast expanse, under wooden huts, but with the protection of a new free country [Syria under the French Mandate] . . . Armenians had settled, who needed to be consoled, through the national, spiritual and educational organizations.[75]

Surmeyan, the energetic Ottoman intellectual, had finally found a challenge he could sink his teeth into. The Prelate of the Armenians, or Matran al-Arman in Arabic, was a revered religious office in Aleppo, but the postgenocide Armenian community was vulnerable. True, the Syrian state under the French Mandate had taken steps to absorb the genocide survivors into its society. However, in addition to social and economic problems, the refugees faced episodes of discrimination from the local population, including violence.[76] The new Prelate capitalized on his own considerable personal talents, including his command of the French language, which allowed him to engage Mandate officials directly; his modern sensibility; and his

network of influential friends throughout the former Ottoman Empire and in the Armenian diaspora. Surmeyan also mobilized all the resources of his position as Prelate to advocate for his community. He exploited the traditional trappings of his office to their fullest, including a magnificent personal appearance with all the attributes of his rank, and scrupulously maintaining all of its ritual privileges. In this way Surmeyan meant to uphold the dignity of the Armenian community that had so recently experienced the degradation of genocide, exile, and displacement.

Prior to his arrival, Surmeyan knew little about the history of the Armenian community in Aleppo. His first impression of the prelacy compound, with its two ancient churches, Forty Martyrs and Holy Mother of God, and the narthex that joins them, was that it was modest. Yet he soon developed an affinity for them: "Given the destruction of the monasteries and the city and village churches of our nation . . . it was very natural that the two obscure churches . . . *still standing in Aleppo among this general destruction* . . . would become . . . the object of our adoration and love."[77] Soon religious paintings, artifacts, and ancient inscriptions caught his attention. "The more I stayed in Aleppo and I passed through the narthex of its twin historic churches and its modest but deeply impressive cross-stones [*khachkars*], ornaments, icons and tombstones . . . , the more I loved its ancient history."[78]

In addition to his political achievements in Aleppo, Surmeyan created a remarkable record of publications. Within months of his arrival in Aleppo, he founded a new Armenian-language periodical.[79] While Surmeyan worked long days absorbed in the religious and political duties of his office, he spent his evenings in the library of the Church of the Forty Martyrs, toiling to preserve and revive what remained of Armenian art and culture: "Working only at night, I catalogued each manuscript."[80] Even in the disorganized state in which he found them, Surmeyan treasured the manuscripts because they had become rare remnants of a great art tradition that had been so recently eradicated. Surmeyan wrote about the destruc-

tion of Armenian cultural heritage during the genocide in terms of intense physical pain. "Our heart aches when we see the loss of thousands of manuscripts, which in the years of terror became the booty of an ignorant mob."[81] He recalled how centuries-old religious objects were squandered. In 1921, in exile in Erzerum, he was purchasing food when he saw the seller wrap olives in a parchment that bore Armenian writing. At the sight of the medieval *yergatakir* script, Surmeyan felt he was "choking."[82] Later he stood powerless as junk dealers sold religious vessels and vestments in the streets. Witnessing firsthand the loss of religious artifacts later propelled him toward his project of cataloging and preservation in the relative safety of Aleppo.

Reflecting on the immense losses of Armenian cultural heritage during the genocide, he concluded: "Their material loss is irreplaceable, but the loss of their historic and artistic value is much more bitter."[83] Surmeyan was a man of the cloth, but his interest in the mostly religious manuscripts he painstakingly researched encompassed more than the spiritual. He wrote about the value the manuscripts represented as "authentic national antiquities."[84] The formulation recalls Dr. Der Ghazarian's description of the Zeytun Gospels as "a valuable national antiquity."[85]

Surmeyan came to see this work of inventorying and recording as a first step in the compilation of the historical documents on the basis of which he planned to compose a comprehensive history of the Armenian community of Aleppo. The inventory of the manuscripts was eventually published in three volumes in the 1930s.[86] It grew to include not only the contents of the Church of the Forty Martyrs but also *any* Armenian religious manuscripts in private hands that Surmeyan was able to examine in Aleppo. In addition to manuscripts, he devoted another book to the Armenian cemetery of Aleppo, which included centuries-old inscribed tombstones.[87] These volumes are scrupulously researched, erudite studies that amount to more than a collection of raw materials for a future historical study.

In their totality, Surmeyan's monumental volumes from his years in Aleppo—studies of epigraphy, manuscripts, historic documents—constitute one of the earliest projects to reconstitute Armenian art patrimony in the new reality of the diaspora.

SURMEYAN AND THE ZEYTUN GOSPELS

Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeyan was the only scholar who must have held the Zeytun Gospels before it was sundered into two, and he left a full record of his analysis. Surmeyan studied the great book in its integrity, as a complete object with all its text, paintings, and colophons. Consequently, much of what is known of the manuscript—its contents, its state in the early twentieth century, and its provenance—is due to Surmeyan's precise and comprehensive observation. It is thanks to his description that years later the fragment was identified with the mother manuscript. Yet Surmeyan's study also raises unanswerable questions. Where and when did the archbishop study the book, and for how long? Surmeyan certainly knew more than he chose or was able to record. The Zeytun Gospels was one of the religious manuscripts and holy objects Surmeyan struggled to preserve from oblivion in the desperate years following World War I and the genocide, when it was becoming increasingly clear that Armenian refugees would not be restored to their homeland. He managed to collect religious objects and add them to the libraries and treasuries of Armenian churches and monasteries that still functioned, as in Aleppo and Jerusalem. As for the others, he was merely able to memorialize them through his descriptions. Surmeyan was conscious that what remained of the patrimony of the Armenian nation and of an ancient tradition of Christianity was slipping away. He mobilized his resources as priest, politician, and intellectual to resist the destruction of culture, to save as much as he could of his people's culture, and to give them the tools to repair their lives and remake their community under new conditions.

The Zeytun Gospels appears in Ardavazt Surmeyan's "Mother Inventory" of Armenian manuscripts, in the volume published in

Aleppo in 1936. Surmeyan described and analyzed the manuscript thoroughly, listed the illuminations, as well as transcribed and analyzed all the colophons. Unfortunately, he published no photographs of the manuscript. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this analysis. Surmeyan's is the first scholarly study of Roslin's manuscript that goes beyond the mining of its colophons for historical information. Surmeyan examined the manuscript in its integrity, as a full and complete object, including its canon tables. One must assume he studied the manuscript before it was divided.

Surmeyan's great inventory originated in the archbishop's plan to catalog the manuscript library of Forty Martyrs Armenian Apostolic Church in Aleppo, shortly after his appointment as Prelate to the Armenians of that city. In addition to the contents of the Forty Martyrs treasury, however, Surmeyan soon became aware that a great number of manuscripts, fragments of manuscripts, and holy objects were transiting through Aleppo. They had been carried from their churches and monasteries of origin by refugees, survivors, looters, purveyors of second-hand goods, diplomats, and missionaries.

Surmeyan leveraged the great authority he enjoyed as a charismatic religious leader to persuade individuals in possession of religious objects to let him study and record them, even when the possessors were reluctant. He cataloged as many Armenian manuscripts as he could from those that crossed his path in Aleppo. His inventory grew into a multivolume behemoth. Every time he thought he could conclude his catalog, new groups of manuscripts and fragments in private hands came to his attention, which he then was compelled to include in his inventory.[88] He knew he was working against time, at one point even finding himself publishing four books with four different printing presses simultaneously.[89]

In addition to the identification and analysis of the books, Surmeyan noted the recent history of manuscripts, the now-destroyed churches from where they originated, as well as their current owners and their whereabouts. Consequently, Surmeyan's catalog provides

rare and precious information about religious manuscripts that had fallen into private hands. For example, Surmeyan recorded that a family evicted from Sivas arrived in Aleppo in 1922 carrying a religious manuscript dated 1711, which they then sold.[90] Other entries tell fuller stories, as that of Ernest Partridge and the manuscripts from Sivas that were eventually entrusted to the Armenian Church in Jerusalem.[91] Surmeyan is silent on any role he himself played in these transactions. Yet one imagines him tracking down manuscripts and lobbying for their return to the church, akin to an underground railroad of Armenian religious objects.

Nevertheless, despite Surmeyan's best efforts, his brief notes on provenance are not always thorough or consistent. For most items, he provided bare-bones information, such as, "The [manuscript's] current owners are the grandsons of the late Sahak *kahanay* Shahvekilian in Aleppo."[92] He supplemented a few entries with additional information, even documents, as for the Zeytun Gospels. Moreover, his notes on provenance cannot reflect the hardships, suffering, and devastation that set into motion the people and objects that eventually made their way to Aleppo and transited from there to Lebanon, Europe, the Americas, or the Caucasus. Collectively, the brief notes convey a sense of the extent of the dispersion of manuscripts that had so recently played a role in the life of the monasteries and churches of Anatolia.

Even though the Zeytun Gospels entry features a provenance section more extensive than most, Surmeyan nevertheless did not state where he saw the Zeytun Gospels, or in whose hands. Nor did Surmeyan indicate the whereabouts of the manuscript at the time of the inventory's publication. He did include a long excerpt from a letter from Harutiwn Der Ghazarian, the doctor from Marash. Der Ghazarian wrote the letter on August 1, 1936, in Aleppo, where he had been living since his exile from Marash.[93]

Der Ghazarian's letter gives an account of the last religious context of the Gospels in Zeytun, in the church on the citadel. It

then describes the arrival of the Gospels from Zeytun to Marash in the custody of Asadur Ishkhan Surenian. It describes how Dr. Der Ghazarian's friend the district governor tipped him off that the Zeytuntsi notables were to be deported from Marash, and how the doctor managed to obtain the Gospels from the ishkhan. Finally, the letter describes the loss of the Gospels during the Battle of Marash in February 1920 and its eventual return to the Armenian Prelate of Marash, Khachadur Der Ghazarian, by a Turkish man haunted by recurring dreams.

The provenance section concludes with this letter. Surmeyan added nothing to Dr. Der Ghazarian's account, perhaps considering it complete and sufficient. The doctor and the archbishop clearly shared an interest in history and art, and an intellectual affinity. In hindsight one wonders if, apart from the doctor, the archbishop had questioned the other eyewitness to the manuscript's travails, namely Father Khachadur. By then, Father Khachadur also lived in Aleppo, preaching in a church in a shantytown settled mostly by refugees from Marash.[94] Archbishop Surmeyan was his hierarchical superior, and no doubt the two priests interacted on numerous occasions.

Following the section on the manuscript's recent movements, Surmeyan provided a description of the manuscript. The depth of his analysis suggests thorough engagement with the book. Surmeyan measured pages and images, counted folios, lingered over nearly illegible scribbles, pondered over artistic style. Nevertheless, Surmeyan was more comfortable in the recording of inscriptions than in the parsing of artistic detail. Thus he noticed the slightly damaged portrait of Carpianus at the opening of the manuscript, but did not detail the smaller illustrations that appear on the margins and between the text columns of the manuscript, like the Annunciation, which have intrigued so many art historians ever since.[95] One can speculate that this indicates that Surmeyan ran out of time in his examination of the manuscript—that he checked for illuminations where he expected them to be (the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus,

the canon tables, the Evangelist portraits), but did not have time to catalog the smaller images buried deep in the some four hundred folios of text.[96] Yet the archbishop was deeply moved by the manuscript's artistic quality: "[It is] a work almost without equal in Armenian illumination. . . . All the motifs [Roslin] has chosen, from the greatest paintings to the most modest ornaments, they are born of an endless, varied, and vibrant imagination, each [endowed with] a unique and much-coveted beauty."[97]

Surmeyan gave no indication that the manuscript had been sundered. To the contrary, not only did he observe the manuscript's good state of preservation, but he also observed that the codex was "without any losses," and he noted the presence of a full set of canon tables.[98] One therefore assumes that he must have seen the Gospel Book before it was fragmented. So when and where did Surmeyan view and study Roslin's Gospels? Surmeyan arrived in Aleppo in 1925; one assumes that Roslin's Canon Tables, removed from the manuscript, had emigrated to the United States with the Atamian family by 1923. Surmeyan could not have viewed the Gospels in Marash while the manuscript was complete, because there is no evidence that he ever visited that city.[99] One can speculate that it was Dr. Der Ghazarian, intimately familiar with the Gospels, who wrote the substance of the catalog description from memory, rather than the archbishop. Yet nothing substantiates this possibility; furthermore, it is unlikely that the doctor would have recalled the Gospels' full details, including descriptions of miniatures and precise measurements, as well as transcribing pages of colophons verbatim.[100] Besides, Surmeyan's catalog entry is too precise to be secondhand.[101]

The circumstances in which Surmeyan handled the Zeytun Gospels thus remain a mystery.

The great scope and ambition of the inventory in which the description appears tells much about the value Surmeyan placed on the Gospels and, more broadly, about the state of Armenian art and cultural heritage in the aftermath of the genocide and during the

hardship of the interwar years. Surmeyan was one of a handful of community leaders who shouldered the impossible burden of caring for masses of survivors, ministering to their spiritual needs, leading them in a complex new political landscape, as well as salvaging what remained of their cultural heritage. Viewed from the standpoint of the early twenty-first century, Surmeyan's project was at once a desperate memorial to the scattered cultural heritage of Ottoman Armenians, and a defiant celebration of their art at the time of their most acute suffering.

FROM REFUGEES TO CITIZENS THROUGH CULTURAL HERITAGE

Surmeyan's frenetic scholarly output during his Aleppo years illuminates the transitions Ottoman Armenians made from citizens of the empire that sought to eradicate them, to refugees, and finally to citizens of the new republics, where their presence began in the most precarious conditions and where they now formed a diaspora. During and after his years in Aleppo, Surmeyan continued his research on the history and cultural heritage of Aleppo's Armenians. His publications, such as the inventory of manuscripts and the studies of icons and tombstones, provided the raw historic documents for his next great book, *The History of the Armenians of Aleppo*, published in three monumental volumes over ten years.[102] Yet this work covers more than its title suggests. In addition to a history of the Armenian community of Aleppo from its medieval origins to 1908, it also contains a comprehensive history of Syria in its entirety, as well as an account of the city of Aleppo, from the dawn of humanity to the present. Surmeyan chose to place the history of the Armenians in his adopted city into a larger narrative arc: the millennial history of the land where he and his flock now lived, exiled from their lands of origin. Surmeyan emphasized the long-standing Armenian presence in Syria and celebrated the religious, economic, and artistic achievements of Armenians in Aleppo. He considered his study a

tribute, "a work of gratitude to a city were I lived for fifteen long years and which had been for centuries a place of refuge and a mercantile haven for Armenians."[103] At the same time, Surmeyan wished to educate Armenians about the deep history of the country where they were now settled. "My goal is . . . to introduce the 150,000 Armenians of Syria and Lebanon to the topography and history of a hospitable land rich with history, *where we live, and which we must love as much as our own homeland*, and in order to love it . . . we must know it, its past history and current administration."[104] Thus Surmeyan intended his work to help Armenian survivors of the genocide embrace their new homeland and recognize the place of their own community within it. In this *History*, Surmeyan did not raise the possibility of Armenians' eventual return to the lands from which they had been so recently and violently evicted. He did not imply that Armenians should cease to be Armenians and fully assimilate into Syrian society. To the contrary, his commitment to the preservation of the Armenian community, its institutions, and its culture is unmistakable. But his explicit emphasis on the need for recent Armenian transplants to fully embrace the new Syrian homeland distinguishes him from other prominent Armenian community leaders of the time, who kept alive as a goal a return to the Armenian homeland. For the latter, the diasporic state was to be temporary and all energies were to focus on a return to an Armenia whose precise contours remained vague.

As the years went by, however, the possibility of such a return became ever more elusive. By the time the last volume of *The History of the Armenians of Aleppo* was published, in 1950, the Armenian question seemed dead. The world had forgotten the sufferings of the Armenians, and any hope for justice, acknowledgment, or repair for the genocide seemed unattainable. The destruction of Armenian heritage and religious culture appeared irreversible as well. Churches, monasteries, and fortresses, once home to vibrant communities and centers of faith and creativity, were destroyed, transformed into barns or prisons, or fallen victim to the ravages of time.

Armenian works of art and religious objects, once treasured in relic boxes and worshipped at the altar, were thrown away, languished in storage, passed from hand to hand, or appeared on the art market. Just like the Armenians who were transformed from Ottomans into citizens of Syria and other states, the Zeytun Gospels' function also changed from liturgical object to a rare survivor of a decimated community, a way of life and a landscape. For the Ottoman Armenians, as for the Zeytun Gospels, return had become impossible.

Chapter 6

NEW YORK

The Zeytun Gospels Enters Art History

• ISTANBUL. THE ARMENIAN PATRIARCHATE LIBRARY. 1952.
She was one of the very few they entrusted with the holy books. They treated her with utmost respect. She was the niece of the late Malachia Ormanian, who had been Patriarch during the old Ottoman Empire. The ruling Patriarch, Karekin, instructed them to grant all her requests. People said she had dedicated her life to studying manuscripts and writing books. She had taken no husband, she had no children. In Europe, and as far away as America, scholars knew her name and called her Professor. Always dressed in elegant European suits, a flower brooch on her lapel, she worked in the library for hours on end, speaking little, examining manuscripts, taking notes in her confident handwriting in a large leather-bound notebook. They now brought her a hefty manuscript from the special bookcase. Standing, leaning over the table, she opened it with tremendous care. She noticed a gap. Pages were missing. She wrote in her notebook, "The Zeytun Gospels at present does not have its Canon Tables."

. . .

The Zeytun Gospels remained behind, while its Canon Tables, removed from the holy manuscript, followed the movements of the Armenian diaspora. The fragment from the sacred book made its way across the Atlantic to the United States of America.

The Canon Tables plausibly arrived at Ellis Island, New York, on July 6, 1923, on the *SS Belgenland* of the Red Star Line sailing from Cherbourg. The ship's passenger manifest shows that Melkon

Atamian, a dentist, age fifty-five, was traveling with his wife Mariam, age forty-three, and their five children, including sons Hagop, age sixteen, and Nazaret, age thirteen.[1] Their place of birth was listed as "Marachi" in Turkey, that is, Marash. The ship's manifest recorded their language as Armenian, their "nationality" as Turkish, and their "race" as Turkish also. These designations were by no means consistent, as families from Aintab with Armenian last names traveling on the same ship were recorded as Syrians. The Atamian family had last resided with a relative in Aleppo. They were on their way to Newton, Massachusetts, to join Melkon's eldest son.[2] This was not Melkon's first visit to the United States; he had been to Newton before, in 1912–13. Now he was moving permanently, with his entire family, carrying $1,250 in cash. The ship manifest's brief entry does not mention the years leading up to the transatlantic journey. Before the war, the Atamians, like many Marash families, had sent relatives abroad to establish themselves in business in the United States. The Atamian family had endured the war years and the violence of 1920 in Marash; they had survived genocide and civil violence; they had managed the perilous trek to Aleppo to shelter with relatives, and after untold sacrifices had finally scraped together the means to cross the ocean and begin a new life far from Marash. The immigration officer at Ellis Island stamped "Admitted" next to their names. They became Americans.

The passenger manifest comprised Armenian and Greek names, entire families forced to leave Anatolia in the wake of genocide and compulsory population exchanges; as well as others from the old Ottoman Empire seeking new opportunities in the United States. Not everyone on the ship was allowed to immigrate, however. Daniel Kapsaris, twenty-five, a Greek cigarette maker from Alexandria, Egypt, who hoped to join his brother Menelas in Chicago, with thirty dollars to his name and a scar on his neck, was deported.

Tucked somewhere in the Atamian family's luggage—one assumes—was the Canon Tables, removed from the Zeytun Gospels.[3]

THE CANON TABLES AND ARCHBISHOP KAREKIN HOVSEPIAN

The Canon Tables, these holy pages from the old country, became a family heirloom and followed the Atamians from Ellis Island as they settled in Watertown, Massachusetts. A vibrant community had developed there since the arrival of the first Armenians around 1896.[4] The Atamians became model immigrants, working hard to support their families and active in the Armenian community, especially with Marash compatriotic associations.[5] Sometime between 1936 and 1943, Nazaret showed the pages to Karekin Hovsepian, then Archbishop of New York.[6] The scholarly Hovsepian immediately recognized that the folios constituted a complete set of canon tables and deduced they must have once been a part of a Gospels manuscript. He was also taken by their artistry and thought he recognized the hand of an artist he knew of: "When we saw for the first time those superb and beautiful canon tables, we immediately suspected that they must be the work of Toros Roslin." Hovsepian had the pages photographed.[7]

However, with only the detached pages as his evidence, Hovsepian could not be certain in his attribution to Roslin. He was aware of the existence of the Zeytun Gospels as Roslin's first known work, as his fellow archbishop, Ardavazt Surmeyan, had described that manuscript in his inventory published in Aleppo in 1936.[8] However, he was unable to identify the Canon Tables from Massachusetts as being part of the Zeytun Gospels, for he himself had never seen either the manuscript or any photographs of it, nor did he have any knowledge of the fact that the Canon Tables had separated from the manuscript.[9] Yet in the intricacy of the Canon Tables' illumination, he discerned the hand of Toros Roslin and surmised that they must be either the master's work or that of his teacher, Hohannes. It was a prescient insight given that the Zeytun Gospels, as Roslin's first work, bears the strong influence of his teacher. Hovsepian published black and white photographs of the Canon Tables in 1943 in an essay on

the art patronage of Catholicos Constantine, Toros Roslin's sponsor at the fortress of Hromkla.

Archbishop Hovsepian noted down what he was able to learn from Nazaret Atamian about the eight luminous folios' provenance: that the pages came from a Gospels from Marash, the family's ancestral home; that his father, Dr. Melkon Atamian, entrusted the remainder of the "Marash Gospels" to an American missionary whose name Nazaret recalled as "Key Laymin Nelsos," who returned to the United States in 1928 and lived in New Hampshire. After he settled in America, Melkon Atamian had made efforts to find the American missionary, without success.[10] When queried, the missionary apparently replied that Turks had looted all his possessions, including the Gospels.[11] Hovsepian concluded that "those eight canon tables Mr. Nazaret keeps as a memento of his father."[12]

This short, somewhat garbled account is crucial for the Zeytun Gospels' provenance. Nazaret Atamian of Watertown and his family are clearly one and the same as the Atamians who appeared on the ship manifest of 1923, with a physician pater familias, Melkon, and children, including sons named Hagop and Nazaret, all from Marash. The pages Nazaret showed the archbishop are clearly the Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels that his brother Hagop had surreptitiously removed from the holy manuscript in the months after the worst events of Marash.[13] Nazaret's other recollections also correspond to otherwise documented facts. "Key Laymin Nelsos" is clearly the Reverend James Kerr Lyman, who carried out missionary work in Marash from 1913 to 1922, and again from 1924 to 1934 until the Turkish government expelled him.[14] Lyman's employment records preserved with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions do not indicate that he was in the United States in 1928, but it is possible he may have been on an unrecorded furlough.[15] His home base in the United States may well have been New Hampshire as Hovsepian wrote, since Nelson, New Hampshire, appears to be the hometown of his wife and fellow missionary

in Marash, Bessie M. Hardy.[16] However, Lyman's reported statement that the mother manuscript was looted from him is confusing. It may have been a miscommunication, a misunderstanding, a misdirection, an inaccuracy, or perhaps yet another otherwise unknown episode in the life of the Zeytun Gospels.

In any event, by a stroke of luck, the fragment of the holy book had come into contact with a great expert in Armenian miniature painting: Archbishop Karekin Hovsepian. Hovsepian was a key figure of the Armenian Apostolic Church. He was born in 1867 in a humble family in a village of Karabakh (today Nagorno-Karabakh).[17] He began his religious education in 1882 at the seminary at Echmiadzin, the seat of the Catholicos of All Armenians, then located in the Russian Empire. There he absorbed the reformist ideas of his teacher Malachia Ormanian, the former Patriarch of Constantinople and uncle of the future art historian Sirarpie Der Nersessian. Hovsepian then obtained a doctoral degree in theology at the University of Leipzig.[18] He was ordained upon his return to Echmiadzin in 1898. Hovsepian taught at the seminary and became a prolific scholar of ecclesiastical history as well as the art and architecture of the Armenian Church. He joined the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society and participated in excavations.[19] He formed part of a vibrant intellectual circle in the South Caucasus that took a keen interest in folklore, archaeology, and medieval history.[20]

Hovsepian's most important studies concern Armenian architecture and especially the arts of the book, including studies of paleography, colophons, patronage, and artistic style. Whether he was trained in art history in Leipzig in addition to theology is a matter of speculation. Nevertheless, his approach to the study of medieval religious art evinces a modern method. Early on, he turned to photography to form a vast archive of reproductions of art, especially of paintings in manuscripts.[21] By contrast, Ardavazt Surmeyan did not exploit the potential of photography for the study of art.[22] Art history has been called a handmaiden of photography, and indeed art

historians adopted the photographic reproduction of works of art as a key research and communication tool early in the development of that technology, just as they examined the theoretical implications of the photographic image.

Hovsepian's status as a high-ranking priest from Echmiadzin afforded him great respect and the ability to move between the Russian and Ottoman Empires to visit churches and monasteries. Thus he photographed manuscripts in Tokat in central Anatolia in 1914.[23] In the same year, he traveled to the Monastery of Surp Nishan in Sivas, where he studied the Gospels of Sivas, illuminated by Roslin in 1262.[24] Next he was in Jerusalem, at the library of the Armenian Patriarchate in the Monastery of Saint James, where he studied more of Roslin's illuminations.[25] During these research missions he went to great lengths to employ professional photographers, which in the early years of the twentieth century involved the transport of heavy and expensive equipment to remote monasteries. It also meant Hovsepian possessed the skills and authority to obtain permission from often conservative and cautious abbots to use the novel technology of photography to take pictures of objects from their treasuries.

World War I interrupted these research missions. The Russian and Ottoman Empires entered the war on opposite sides. The Armenian communities in each empire endured distinct hardships. Hovsepian's home, Echmiadzin, located close to the theater of war, became a center of political activism and humanitarian relief. The Catholicos of All Armenians, Kevork V, mobilized resources to help those fleeing the genocide who poured in seeking safety. Keenly aware of the danger to religious culture as well as communities, Kevork V dispatched missions to rescue religious manuscripts and relics from Ottoman provinces that were being cleansed of Armenians.[26] But soon even Echmiadzin was threatened. In May 1918 the Russian imperial army withdrew from the front following the Bolshevik seizure of power. The Ottoman army drew near. Church bells rang, calling on every Armenian for assistance. Aware that the Ottoman government was exterminating

their compatriots, the Armenians of the South Caucasus rallied to what they saw as an existential struggle. The clashes between the Ottoman army and the Armenians culminated in the Battle of Sardarabad. Hovsepian participated in the battle in full priestly garb.

The unexpected victory at Sardarabad against overwhelming odds is one of the crucibles of modern Armenian identity. A confrontation of last resort, it was seen as a modern-day recurrence of the Battle of Avarayr of 451 against the redoubtable Sasanian army with its superior numbers and war elephants. The Armenian Church considers Avarayr a sacred struggle for the sake of Christianity fought against nonbelievers. Its commander, Vartan Mamigonian, is one of the church's principal martyrs and saints. Also sanctified was Ghevont Yerets, the priest who joined Vartan on the frontlines.[27] Contemporaries immediately likened Hovsepian's participation in the Battle of Sardarabad to Ghevont Yerets. Hovsepian's reputation grew as a warrior-priest who defended his flock at its most desperate hour, as a great scholar and eloquent preacher. He had become one of the most charismatic and revered leaders of the church.

Sardarabad paved the way for the establishment of the short-lived independent Republic of Armenia, formed from provinces of the former Russian Empire. It lasted until 1920 when the Soviet Union absorbed it. Through these drastic shifts, in addition to his priestly duties, Hovsepian continued his scholarly work. He helped found the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic's key state cultural institutions. Thus he taught Armenian art and archaeology at the newly established Yerevan State University and served on a committee for historic preservation.[28] In 1936 the new Catholicos at Echmiadzin, Khoren I, assigned Hovsepian a politically and religiously delicate task that eventually brought him into contact with the Zeytun Gospels: a mission to America.

By the mid-1930s the Armenian Apostolic Church in the United States had fallen into a profound crisis. At the precise point when the number of Armenian Americans was swelling, following the geno-

cide and continued immigration from refugee centers in the Middle East, long-simmering political divisions within the community exploded into the open. Supporters of the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Tashnagtsutiwn, or Tashnags) composed one faction. Active in the Ottoman Empire since the late nineteenth century, the ARF had dominated the independent Republic of Armenia, only to be ousted by the Soviets. Now in diaspora, the Tashnags in the United States viewed the Soviet Union with distrust, resented its tyranny over the Armenian SSR, and advocated a liberation struggle for the Armenian people. Since Echmiadzin fell within its territory, Tashnags believed—not without basis—that the Soviets had manipulated the Catholicos into an instrument of their political machinations and sought to infiltrate Armenian communities abroad through church congregations. Armenian American community groups that opposed the Tashnags subscribed to a different vision. They viewed Soviet rule as the current caretaker power in Armenia. They also advocated loyalty to the Armenian Church and its hierarchical structure, which placed Echmiadzin at the apex. As long as Echmiadzin cooperated with Soviet rule, they would keep a friendly and accommodating stance toward it. [29]

The church, as the central Armenian communal institution, became a battleground for these groups in their rivalry within the Armenian community. Their disagreements turned violent and culminated in the shocking assassination of Archbishop Leon Tourian by a group of Tashnag men as he celebrated Mass in the Church of the Holy Cross in New York on December 24, 1933.[30] This in turn prompted a break in the church. Each congregation was forced to choose an allegiance to one faction or the other. The community's split had reached alarming proportions.

Catholicos Khoren tasked Hovsepian with resolving the conflict, healing the community, and raising funds for the renovation of the Holy See of Echmiadzin from what was becoming one of the wealthiest and most generous Armenian communities in the world.

The stakes were high. Following a formal tour of parishes in the Middle East and Europe, Hovsepian arrived in New York harbor on April 8, 1936, as a patriarchal envoy. His outsize reputation as a scholar, holy man, and warrior-priest preceded him.

And yet the mission to New York became Hovsepian's great failure. His efforts at bringing the factions together and negotiating compromises, his stirring sermons on forgiveness and unity, his tireless visits to parishes of new immigrants did little to soften the entrenched positions. Some excoriated him as a "Soviet spy" while others condemned him for not being pro-Soviet enough, or for being a tool of the Tashnags, who denounced him in turn. He acknowledged, "I see that my appeal has failed completely."[31] In time, the anti-Soviet faction developed its own parallel church hierarchy in the United States, rejecting the supervision of Echmiadzin entirely and placing itself within the purview of the Catholicos of Cilicia in Antelias.[32] This dual church infrastructure continues today, though the enmities have softened over time.

Despite his failure at reuniting the church, Hovsepian threw himself into reinvigorating his parishes. He took pains to avoid political speech and symbols that polarized the community, such as the tricolor flag of the First Armenian Republic, favored by the Tashnags and excoriated by the pro-Soviets.[33] Instead, he highlighted Armenian art as a medium for celebration, communal unity, and reconciliation. He organized cultural activities such as a celebration of the millennial of the folk epic *Daredevils of Sasun*. This earned him the esteem of many community groups. In 1938 he was elected Primate of the American Diocese by unanimous vote.[34]

Hovsepian steered the Armenian American community from his seat in New York in trying times, traveling throughout the United States, establishing new churches, and providing guidance. The 1938 death of Catholicos Khoren I in Echmiadzin under suspicious circumstances and the fact that no new Catholicos was elected for years gave rise to many conspiracy theories. During World War II his pa-

rishioners worried about their sons who served in the U.S. military, and they also feared that the war would threaten the very existence of the Armenian SSR.[35]

Hovsepian formed his own view of America as a home for Armenian survivors of the genocide. He considered the church central to communal life and essential for the maintenance of Armenian culture in diaspora: "We have one concern—that we may go astray, lose our identity, and eventually our national and ecclesiastical image because of a lack of knowledge, organization, and because of indifference."[36] Hovsepian's prescription for the Armenian community in the United States differed from the guidance Ardavazt Surmeyan offered to the Armenian community in the Arab world. The two religious leaders had a love of art in common, but they faced their challenges as leaders in two extremely different contexts. Surmeyan offered the avenue of acculturation: he wanted Armenians in Syria to love Syria as their homeland, while remaining Armenian-speaking Christians. The social circumstances of the Arab world allowed this compromise. By contrast, Hovsepian in New York considered the Armenian Church in America under threat, both from internal division and from the overwhelming mainstream culture of the United States. Hovsepian's alternative was a more inward-looking politics of culture and heritage. He sought to make a space for Armenian culture in American society; to celebrate what was good and great about Armenian language, art, and religion. He envisioned a center for the Apostolic Church in New York, with a cathedral and a diocese, as a beacon for communal and spiritual life.[37]

Alongside his difficult role as religious leader, Hovsepian also pursued his scholarship. He had brought with him from Echmiadzin his enormous research archive of photographs. His intellectual circle in New York included the art historian Sirarpie Der Nersessian, the niece of Malachia Ormanian, his old mentor at the seminary.[38]

Hovsepian's art historical models came from German-language and Russian-language art historiography, while Surmeyan derived

his from French-language scholarship. As both wrote primarily in Armenian, their work has been inaccessible to all but the most specialized scholars. Hovsepian and Surmeyan brought their calling as priests to bear on their approach to medieval manuscripts. These priest-scholars viewed illuminations as integral parts of books, but decoding iconography or charting the evolution of formal style was not their primary consideration. Rather, they privileged paleography and philology.[39] Their deep religious erudition gave them a particular insight onto Armenian texts. Moreover, for them, the medieval manuscript was inseparable from its role in the church, its place in liturgy, and eventually its place in the lost sacred geography of Anatolia.

Yet the archbishop's scholarly research could not be the same in New York as it had been in Echmiadzin, just as his photographic archive had acquired a new meaning. Prior to the Medz Yeghern, the Great Crime, as Armenians call the genocide, his photographs had been a technologically sophisticated feature of his scholarly toolkit. They enabled him to recall the manuscripts and objects he had visited in monasteries and, back at his desk, to organize and compare illuminations, to study colophons and writing styles. Hovsepian planned to write a comprehensive history of the art of the Armenian book from its origins to the late medieval period. His scrupulously documented prewar visits to monasteries and churches in Anatolia, in Jerusalem, and in Istanbul; his drive to hire professional photographers to make high-quality reproductions; and his tireless search for the whereabouts of the manuscripts that now circulated on the art market were all intended for "our great work on the history of manuscript painting."[40] After the genocide had devastated communities and religious culture, however, his photographs had come to constitute an archive of representations whose originals were lost. The archive had become a memorial to manuscripts he had studied that were now destroyed, dispersed, or sold. His research could no longer be mere scholarship into medieval manuscripts. It had be-

come a sacred mission to track down the manuscripts that he had so reverently studied, now spread out all over the world. Yet the more evidence Hovsepian gathered, the more difficult it became to complete his scholarly history of an art tradition that had almost been erased from history. This did not escape the notice of the great novelist and critic Hagop Oshagan, who penned a poignant portrait of the religious leader. Oshagan, himself a genocide survivor, noted the corrosive effect of the destruction of culture on Hovsepian. When he attempted express the priest's pathos, even he seemed unable to complete his sentence: "Hovsepian's studies remain heavily subject to external factors: *the fate of ruins, the fate of ancient manuscripts* . . . "[41] It was as if for the archbishop as well as the novelist who witnessed churches reduced to ruins and ancient manuscripts sundered, the destruction of culture was so painful that it was unspeakable.

Just as Surmeyan sought to record manuscripts and fragments that passed through Aleppo, so did Hovsepian systematically investigate the whereabouts of Armenian manuscripts in New York, a city at the center of the art world and the art market. Colleagues and friends plainly saw the burden of the immense task Hovsepian had assigned to himself: "When you visit him, [you are moved by] . . . the immense [research] material in his cabinets, collected bit by bit."[42] His 1943 article where the Canon Tables appears is emblematic of his drive and of the urgency his work had acquired.

Hovsepian reconstructed the biography of the Catholicos Constantine I, the luxury manuscripts he commissioned, and his prize artist, Toros Roslin. Hovsepian drew upon his prewar research in the treasuries of Armenian churches in the Ottoman provinces, on sources like colophons in manuscripts, medieval chronicles, visual analysis, as well as the existing scholarship. As a result, Hovsepian compiled the first comprehensive list of the known and suspected works of Roslin. The list began with his first known work, the Zeytun Gospels. Hovsepian had never seen the manuscript, but he knew of it through Surmeyan's description.[43] No photographs of the Zeytun

Gospels existed. Hovsepian lacked a visual record, but he had the Zeytun Gospels' medieval colophon written in Roslin's hand that Surmeyan had published in full.

But the cultural destruction of the genocide kept intruding in the article and sidetracking the author. Hovsepian interrupted his own scholarly narrative about medieval manuscripts for segues into discussions of the whereabouts of the manuscripts since the war. Few repositories had emerged untouched from the devastation. While the library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem had remained a safe haven for five of Roslin's signed manuscripts, most other repositories no longer existed and their treasures were scattered. Hovsepian tracked them as they surfaced. His discussion of the Canon Tables in Nazaret Atamian's possession, including the account of how it came to be in Watertown, constitutes one such tangent in his article. Ostensibly, he included the fragmentary pages because he suspected them to be Roslin's work. Yet he published photographs of all eight illuminated pages rather than just a representative one or two. It was as if he wanted to keep a record of them and share them with his readers, just in case the Canon Tables disappeared again without a trace.

In an era of slow communications, Hovsepian maintained a network of contacts around the world who alerted him when precious manuscripts or religious objects came to light. Such was the case for Roslin's third known work, created in 1262 in Hromkla.[44] Hovsepian had seen it in 1914 at the Monastery of Surp Nishan (Holy Sign) near Sivas, after which it was known as the Sivas Gospels. He had photographed the paintings in the book, making them into objects of study for art history. Now, however, the monastery was no more, its community of monks and its congregation exterminated, and its manuscripts destroyed or dispersed.

Some of the individuals who kept Hovsepian informed about Armenian manuscripts were themselves involved in the art market. Foremost among them was Dikran Kelekian, one of the most im-

portant art dealers in New York who maintained an international business. When Roslin's Sivas Gospels mysteriously surfaced in Paris after the war, it was Kelekian who purchased the manuscript. Kelekian furnished photographs of some miniatures and a transcript of the colophon to Hovsepian.[45] However, in 1929, Kelekian sold the book to his longtime client, the businessman and art collector Henry Walters. After his death, the collector's wife gifted the Sivas Gospels to the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore in 1935, where it became Ms. 539.[46] In the space of one paragraph in Hovsepian's article, Roslin's Sivas Gospels was transformed from liturgical object, to looted item, to commodity on the international art market, and finally to museum exhibit. Hovsepian's relation to the object changed accordingly. In his study of holy books of his own church, the archbishop now depended on the courtesy and generosity of outsiders for access and information: "We obtained [photographs of Ms. 539] through the kindness of the administration of the Walters Art Gallery [now Walters Art Museum]."[47] From a respected priest confidently approaching a religious manuscript, he had become a mere researcher, an independent scholar, petitioning the goodwill of those who now had possession of his sacred texts. He was a spectator to these shifts, and he bore witness to them.

Thus Hovsepian's work was not only scholarship, but it also constitutes a poignant episode in the Armenian community's cultural recovery, in its intense drive to document, to recover, and to record. His art history was not only the rigorous study of artistic forms and their development over time seen in their historical context. It was now a monument to the dead. Its goal was to narrate the achievements of a religious community and a nation that Hovsepian, as priest and as soldier, had fought to preserve. He concluded his 1943 article, "I have a prayer . . . that [the lantern] remain burning . . . in the hearts of Armenians wherever they may be."[48] His prayer acknowledged that Armenians now lived in a global diaspora. A return to the past was impossible.

There was a broader art historical context to Hovsepian's research. In the 1930s and 1940s European and American experts were recognizing medieval Armenian illumination as an art form worthy of study and collection, similar to Persian painting or Byzantine imagery. Major collectors and museums were seeking out visual traditions from distant lands and time periods, interest in which had previously been confined to small circles of connoisseurs and scholars. The transformation of manuscripts like Roslin's Gospels into works of art and commodities on the global art market depended on the figure of the early twentieth-century art dealer. Dikran Kelekian (1868–1951) was a key figure of the New York art market of the early twentieth century.[49] Though he did not play a role in the history of the Zeytun Gospels, he was instrumental in bringing another of Roslin's works, the Sivas Gospels, into the United States. Kelekian bought and sold manuscripts that were survivor objects of the Armenian Genocide, like the Sivas Gospels. He made a profit off artworks that may have been looted. But he was also a pillar of the Armenian community and a board member of the Armenian General Benevolent Union. He also kept Hovsepian informed about Armenian art on the international market and he provided the archbishop entrée into the American museum world.

By this time, there was little discussion of the restitution of art. The Armenian question was effectively dead. As William Saroyan wrote in 1935, Armenians were "this small tribe of unimportant people, whose history is ended, whose wars have all been fought and lost, whose structures have crumbled, whose literature is unread, whose music is unheard, whose prayers are no longer uttered."[50] The Republic of Turkey held its remaining Armenian population in an iron grip; and the Soviet Armenian Republic was under the thumb of its Communist rulers. Geopolitical realities had dictated that the plight of the Armenians be utterly forgotten. There was little hope of reestablishing destroyed Ottoman Armenian communities.

Even in the safety of the United States the fate of the exiled Ottoman Armenians was uncertain. The now-diasporic community had turned the persecution it had experienced inward, toward itself. The Armenian Church, devastated by the genocide, was now riven with divisions. Hovsepian wrote his article a year before Raphael Lemkin's definition of genocide, when the understanding that the destruction of works of art constituted an element of genocide was in its infancy. This was a time when any movement for reparations for the losses suffered by Armenians as individuals and as a community seemed unimaginable, as so many requests had been consistently denied.

Hovsepian's writing conveys a sense of how intellectuals viewed the Armenian manuscripts that were circulating on the art market. The priest cum art historian's foreword to his essay reiterates his deep concern with and his anxiety about the uncertain fate of Armenian art after the genocide. A manuscript he had studied in the past had recently surfaced on the art market: "We have seen that Gospels, we have photographed sections of it and copied its colophons in 1911 and again in 1914." He noted the movement of another manuscript across the Atlantic: "Now that manuscript has arrived in America as the property of a private person. . . . It has been brought here to be sold." What was once religious and communal property had now been transformed into private property. The forces of the art market that had scooped up these remains of the Anatolian Armenian past seemed unstoppable. Hovsepian realized that once they had been caught up in Western art collections, the manuscripts would never be returned to liturgy. He concluded, "It is desirable that it enter any state museum, so that its protection should be ensured and so it would be available for study by specialists, *without being broken up and sold in pieces*, which would cause a loss of the value of the manuscript."[51] Since a return was impossible, he could only express a desperate wish that the manuscripts at least be protected, preserved as a complete whole, and made available for study.

Hovsepian never completed his planned survey of Armenian miniature painting. As World War II raged, he was elected Catholicos of Cilicia in October 1943. That office, exiled from Sis, had recently reconstituted itself in Antelias, a suburb of Beirut, and presently it called on one of the most distinguished figures in the church to lead it. Hovsepian boarded a freighter from New York in January 1945 for a tour of Armenian communities in the Middle East before arriving in the port of Beirut. Great pomp and ceremony surrounded the consecration of Hovsepian as Catholicos on April 8, 1945.[52]

From then until his death in June 1952 at age eighty-five, Hovsepian left an indelible mark on the church. At Antelias as in New York, he engaged the public through the celebration of Armenian culture.[53] He envisioned a great museum on the grounds of the catholicosate to publicly display the religious treasures rescued from Sis in 1915. This vision constituted a radical innovation: the leader of one of the oldest and most conservative churches was proposing to adopt a museum's exhibition techniques to display sacred manuscripts and relics to the public at large. In this proposal, visitors would view illuminated manuscripts or the relic of the Right Hand of Saint Gregory the Illuminator in display cases, like art objects. This contrasted with the manner and spirit in which relics were traditionally treated. Kept in treasuries and crypts, sacred objects saw the light of day only on set occasions, taken out as part of a ritual or to perform a sacred act, displayed to priests and congregants from afar, surrounded by the extraordinary pomp, special vestments, chanting, and the incense-saturated sensory dimension of Eastern Christian liturgy. Hovsepian's vision was realized years later with the Cilicia Museum.[54] In a fitting homage, the museum collection comprises the photographs of manuscripts that Hovsepian compiled over his lifetime, the raw materials of his research and the memorial to lost treasures that had accompanied him from Echmiadzin to New York to Antelias.

THE ZEYTUN GOSPELS AND SIRARPIE DER NERSESSIAN

Archbishop Hovsepian had the opportunity to see the Canon Tables, the fragment of the Zeytun Gospels in the United States, but he never glimpsed the mother manuscript. Another scholar examined the mother manuscript but never saw the fragment. She was the founder of Armenian art history in the Western academy and its most distinguished practitioner. Hovsepian, like many others, called her simply "Miss Sirarpie Der Nersessian."

Der Nersessian's magnum opus, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, is the book that comes closest to Hovsepian's unachieved plan of a great study on Armenian manuscript painting. Its ostensible subject consists in only two centuries of artistic production, but in fact the book examines medieval Armenian illumination broadly in its historical and artistic context. Begun in earnest around 1963, published posthumously in 1993, *Miniature Painting* represents the summation of a long and distinguished career. It is the most important art historical study of Toros Roslin, including his first known work, the Zeytun Gospels. The encounter between the Zeytun Gospels and the greatest historian of Armenian art constitutes a crucial episode in the life of the manuscript as well as its reception.

Der Nersessian was born into an educated and privileged Istanbul family in 1896, but she did not live a life of entitlement or leisure. Her parents died before she turned eighteen; World War I and the Armenian Genocide uprooted her from her birthplace and separated her from her family; and she made her way in the academic profession at a time when it welcomed few women in leadership positions.[55]

Her uncle, Archbishop Malachia Ormanian, was the great theologian and historian of the Armenian Church who had so influenced Hovsepian as a young seminarian. Ormanian's personality

and scholarship remained present in Der Nersessian's life long after his death.[56] Educated in Rome, the forward-looking Ormanian was appointed Armenian Patriarch of the Ottoman Empire in 1896.[57] His tenure ended abruptly just after the revolution of 1908 when he was forced to resign, perceived as being part of the old regime.[58] Ormanian returned to scholarship, publishing a behemoth of over five thousand pages titled *History of the Nation*.[59] Conflating or at least closely associating the Armenian Apostolic religious community with the Armenian ethnic community, the work sets out a powerful framework for the historical development of the Armenians.[60] It was written at a time of great intellectual ferment in Istanbul, when many progressive Armenian intellectuals tended toward a secular vision of the history of the Armenian people. Yet the impact of Ormanian's vision remained present in his niece's research in an altogether different discipline and institutional context.

At the onset of the genocide, the Ottoman state exiled Ormanian to Damascus. He was only able to return to Istanbul in 1918, shortly before his death.[61] By then, Sirarpie and her sister Arax had fled. Few members of the family remained in Istanbul. The end of World War I found the Der Nersessian sisters in Paris, where Sirarpie studied at the Sorbonne. The field of *byzantinologie* was coming into its own, challenging the dominance of German-language scholarship in the study of Byzantine culture. Sirarpie studied with some of its most distinguished practitioners, including Gabriel Millet, who had researched the treasures of Mount Athos and was one of the first to examine Armenian art alongside Byzantine art.[62] Most notable was Henri Focillon, who over the course of a storied career at universities in France and later Yale University became a mentor to many distinguished art historians, among whom Der Nersessian was perhaps the only woman. Focillon's influential method in art history consisted in a formalism inspired ultimately by the German philosopher Heinrich Wölfflin. In books such as *The Life of Forms*, Focillon focused on art's formal qualities, as he scanned European medieval

art and organized works into sequences based on changes in artistic style, in search of what he called "pure visuality."[63] The influence of her teachers is clear in Der Nersessian's work; however, she, like her lifelong friend the Byzantinist André Grabar, also drew upon history, politics, liturgy, and philology in her interpretation of artistic forms.

Der Nersessian's two doctoral theses for her French degree reflect her two areas of expertise: Byzantine and Armenian art. Der Nersessian contributed to Byzantine art history and she pioneered Armenian art history, particularly manuscript painting. She conceived of Armenian art as a category of art related to Byzantine yet independent from it. She adopted a modified formalist method, deeply informed by history and practiced with tremendous scholarly rigor.

True, Armenian and Byzantine art have affinities, including geographical location, liturgical similarities, and close interaction. Yet the association of Armenian art with Byzantine rather than, or alongside, other contemporaneous art traditions is an active choice that has implications for the positioning of Armenian art on art history's broader map. Other scholars, inspired by the German-language tradition in art history, had cast medieval Armenian Church architecture as a precursor to European medieval art.[64] Still others have explored the connections of Armenian art to various contemporaneous Islamic art traditions, in addition to Byzantine and other Eastern Christian works.[65]

While still finishing her doctorate in 1930, Der Nersessian moved to the United States to teach at Wellesley College. American colleagues had recommended her, impressed by her organization of a vast collection of photographs of Early Christian and Byzantine art and architecture at the École Pratique des Hautes Études in Paris. Comprehensive photographic archives, expensive to create and laborious to maintain, were critical tools of art history in the predigital age. They enabled scholars to compare and contrast the visual properties of works of art of diverse scales and formats, and from disparate locations and time periods. Such an archive afforded the art

historian the privileged position of having simultaneous visual access to a large body of works of art.[66] Such a viewpoint was certainly not available to the artists themselves as they created their work. The photographic archive functioned like the art historian's laboratory, where she analyzed images, ordered and reordered them taxonomically, and crafted narratives out of them. The archive allowed the art historian to connect works of different origins, sizes, formats, media, and functions, based on their formal, visual similarities. This was part of the European art history Der Nersessian brought with her to the United States. She was part of a wave of Europeans, including her mentor Focillon, and those fleeing Nazism, such as Erwin Panofsky, who crossed the Atlantic and energized art history in the American academy.

Der Nersessian's career in art history was extraordinarily successful by any measure and all the more so for a woman scholar who had been a refugee from the old Ottoman Empire. The first woman professor to teach Byzantine art at Wellesley College, Der Nersessian eventually chaired the art history department there and directed the college's art museum. By the end of World War II, she accepted a faculty appointment at the newly established Dumbarton Oaks in the District of Columbia, an institute affiliated with Harvard University dedicated to Byzantine studies among other subjects. By 1953 she was named the Henri Focillon Professor of Art and Archaeology there. Not only did she thus inherit her mentor's mantle, but she also became one of the rare women chair-holders at Harvard. For decades she was the only academic specialized in the history of Armenian art in the diaspora. After authoring numerous publications and organizing museum exhibitions, Der Nersessian retired in 1963. Returning to Paris, she began another active phase of scholarship. She received numerous awards and honors, including from the Soviet Armenian state, before she passed away in 1989.

Sirarpie Der Nersessian's career achievements are all the more impressive since she accomplished them in an era before women's

empowerment. She put herself through university and was her own sole financial support.[67] She had lost or was separated from her family, and she never married. Her sister Arax, after the death of her husband, lived near or with her and shared her sister's scholarly interests, serving as her uncredited research and photography assistant.

Der Nersessian's numerous scholarly publications resulted from painstaking research: countless hours of reading and writing; viewing original artworks as well as photographs of artworks; comparing forms and crafting narratives based on visual features, supplemented by historical research. Over the course of her long career, she studied, cataloged, and photographed Armenian manuscripts in many collections, including the three most important repositories. Her earliest research took place at the collection of the Mekhitarian monastery in Venice for her doctoral dissertation. Published in 1937, it was the first sustained study of Armenian manuscripts.[68] She examined the collection at Echmiadzin, later transferred to the Matenadaran in Yerevan, when she visited Armenia in 1960. She also researched the collection at the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem during her sabbatical in 1951–52, a trip significant both professionally and personally.

Preceded by her own scholarly reputation as well as her late uncle's prestige as a leader of the church, Der Nersessian obtained the rare privilege of studying the Armenian manuscripts in Jerusalem, which comprised five of Toros Roslin's seven signed works at that time.[69] The same year, Der Nersessian along with her sister Arax visited Armenian churches throughout the Arab world and examined their manuscripts, including the Catholicosate of Cilicia in Antelias and the Church of the Forty Martyrs in Aleppo. Then, for the first and only time since their departure thirty-six years earlier, the two sisters returned to Istanbul and reunited with their brother Boghos. Malachia Ormanian's niece was also welcomed in the library of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople. There she found and examined the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels, which had

been brought from Marash and deposited at the patriarchate at an unknown date.

In 1952, then, Sirarpie Der Nersessian examined the Zeytun Gospels at the library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul. She must have first noted the worn leather binding adorned with a crucifix. She opened the book. At the beginning, a pair of elaborately decorated facing pages bore the Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus which introduces the canon tables. The pages featured architectural frames and the portraits of the two early church fathers. Der Nersessian may have observed the slight damage to the face of Carpianus.[70] Turning the page, she saw two facing folios that had been left blank. She was not surprised. In the most luxurious manuscripts, Cilician artists preferred to paint on the shiny side of the parchment, which they thought took pigment better. Leaving the back of an illuminated folio blank also indicated the lavishness of the patronage.[71] She expected to see the Canon Tables next, but it was missing.[72] Instead there were the facing pages bearing the dedication. Beneath exquisitely decorated arcades, the deep blue text stood out against the gold ground. Such expensive colors were a hallmark of the manuscripts Constantine commissioned. Indeed the blue inscription spelled out the name of the Catholicos, and toward the end, that of the scribe: Toros.[73] Another pause of two blank facing folios. Then another visual feast: the portrait of Matthew the Evangelist on the left-hand page faced the elaborate opening page of the Gospel of Matthew on the right, with a gold-laced architectural frame and ornate first initial in the shape of a winged man, Matthew's symbol. From then onward the text continued in the expected order. Apart from the Canon Tables, the manuscript had no further losses.

Shortly thereafter Der Nersessian published a brief article on the manuscript in Armenian in *Shoghagat*, the patriarchate's new journal. The article summarized what was known about Toros Roslin's career, provided a description of the Zeytun Gospels, and compared its illuminations to Roslin's oeuvre and to the Cilician school of paint-

ing generally. Der Nersessian noted that the manuscript in Istanbul no longer had its Canon Tables. Nevertheless, aware of Surmeyan's description of the manuscript and Hovsepian's 1943 publication, she observed that the manuscript's pages had the exact same measurements as Nazaret Atamian's Canon Tables. She commented that the style and ornamental repertory of the Zeytun Gospels and the Atamian pages were closely linked. Consequently, she hypothesized, ever so carefully, that the Canon Tables in the United States may have once been a part of the Zeytun Gospels. However, not having seen and examined them in person, she could only retain this as a possibility.[74]

Der Nersessian made no further comment about the manuscript's provenance. She thanked the Patriarch of Constantinople for allowing her access to this manuscript.[75] She focused on the artistic properties of the manuscript. Unlike Surmeyan and Hovsepian, she did not address its recent history. She made no comment as to when, why, or in what circumstances the Zeytun Gospels had arrived in Istanbul, or when, why, and how its Canon Tables made its way to Massachusetts.

Indeed, precisely when and how the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels arrived in Istanbul remains a matter for speculation. If Der Nersessian found it out, she did not see fit to include it in an art historical article, and her archives preserve no trace of it. Most likely, James Lyman, the longtime American missionary in Marash entrusted with the holy book, brought the Gospels to the Patriarchate in Istanbul. Lyman had received the Zeytun Gospels from Armenians in Marash, notably Father Khachadur Der Ghazarian, shortly after the Battle of Marash in 1920 with the understanding that the missionary would safeguard the holy book as the Armenians embarked on their final exodus.

Lyman needed only to glance at the manuscript to realize its religious importance and artistic value. However, he would have been unable to decipher the manuscript's medieval inscriptions on his

own. It must have been Father Khachadur who conveyed to Lyman the significance of the manuscript as well as its connection to Zeytun. This is the only possibility to explain the fact that Lyman later sought to reunite the manuscript with the Zeytuntsi exiles rather than with Armenians from Marash.[76] Indeed, around 1928 Lyman, still living in Marash, initiated contacts with Armenian refugee groups in Aleppo, notably the Zeytun Compatriotic Union.[77] Following their final expulsion from their hometown, Zeytuntsis had formed Compatriotic Unions wherever fragments of the community had reconstituted themselves, helping refugees and reuniting separated families. The branch in Aleppo was the most active among this network.[78] No longer welcome in Turkey, formerly Ottoman Armenians were not free to cross back and forth between what had become the international border between Syria and Turkey. By contrast, as an American, Lyman's movements were relatively unrestricted and he could travel to Aleppo, where fellow Americans maintained missionary and educational institutions.[79] On such a visit he conferred in person with members of the Zeytun Compatriotic Union, and perhaps others as well, about the best and safest way to return the Zeytun Gospels to the Armenian Church and the Zeytuntsi community.[80] It was risky to take an object as precious as the Gospels out of Turkey and into Syria. Instead, Lyman suggested taking the Gospels to Istanbul, either to the Bible House (the offices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Turkey) or to the patriarchate. They reached a consensus that Lyman would take the Zeytun Gospels to the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul.[81]

Lyman indeed fulfilled his promise.[82] He took the Zeytun Gospels to Istanbul and delivered it to the Armenian Patriarchate at an unknown date sometime between 1928 (around the time he met with the Zeytuntsis in Aleppo) and 1952 (when Der Nersessian examined the Gospels at the patriarchate). Lyman's employment records at the American Board note that he came through Istanbul on his way to and from Marash in 1922, in 1930, and in 1934, the year when the

Turkish state expelled him and his wife from Marash. As no Armenians remained in Marash after 1922, Lyman and the other missionaries redirected their efforts toward the city's Muslims and attempted to make converts among them. The government did not look favorably on this proselytizing and eventually compelled the American missionaries in Marash to liquidate their property and leave. Subsequently, James and Bessie Lyman lived and worked in Istanbul between 1934 and 1939. After spending World War II in the United States, they returned to Istanbul until Lyman's death in 1950. He had spent most of his life in Turkey, pursuing what he viewed as God's work. Bessie Lyman continued to work as a missionary in the provincial city of Talas, eventually returning to her hometown of Nelson, New Hampshire, in 1953.[83] There is no indication that the Lymans had any children. They exemplify the American missionaries whose entire lives were entwined with their mission and the place to which it assigned them.

Armenians put their trust in Lyman, not only because the dire situation in postgenocide Marash left them with few options but also because the American's connection to their community was deep and long-standing. A man of unwavering faith and zealous piety, Lyman had made numerous converts to Protestant Christianity among the Armenians of Marash and even Zeytun. But he had grown close to Apostolic Armenians as well. As an American, he was considered politically neutral with both Armenians and Turks. Since he spoke the local language and was familiar with local customs and power relations, he often played a mediating role.[84]

The available evidence allows one to reconstruct this chain of events. It must be reiterated that this scenario leaves several questions unanswered. Most important, this reconstruction does not explain how, when, and in what circumstances Ardavazt Surmeyan examined the Zeytun Gospels before its separation from the Canon Tables. Be that as it may, by around 1952 the Zeytun Gospels had joined other rescued treasures and religious artifacts at the Armenian

Patriarchate in Istanbul. There it remained safe in a community that kept a low profile as it endured harsh treatment in the Republic of Turkey.

Few were aware of the Zeytun Gospels' location in Istanbul until Sirarpie Der Nersessian published her brief article in 1952 in the patriarchate's own periodical. *Shoghagat* had a small circulation, and the conditions in the post–World War II Middle East were not conducive to the easy movement of publications between Turkey and Armenian communities abroad. Fifteen years later, however, the same article achieved greater impact when the Istanbul Armenian-language daily *Marmara* reprinted it in June 1967.[85] Within days, at least two readers fired off responses, compelled to tell their own stories of the holy book. One was Aram Shorvoghlian, who had been a member of the Zeytun Compatriotic Union during the fateful meeting with Lyman in Aleppo. He reached into his childhood memories to recount the stories about the miracles the Gospels had performed, and vividly described the last ishkhan to care for the manuscript, Asadur Surenian, to whom he was related. Even though he was a frequent visitor to the ishkhan's quarters in Marash in 1916, where the elderly Surenian kept the Zeytun Gospels, and was aware of the book's protective presence, Shorvoghlian never laid eyes on the manuscript: "At the age I was . . . I had no notion of the archaeological value of the Gospels. As for its miraculous powers, I considered it superstition. Today I bitterly regret that I lost the opportunity to see the Gospels even once." Reading "Miss Der Nersessian's article" made him appreciate the artistic value of the Gospels and filled him with "compatriotic pride."[86] He had never laid eyes on the holy book, but he felt a profound connection with it.

Another response came from Dr. Artin Der Ghazarian, then eighty-six. It was published on August 3, 1967, in *Haratch*, the most important and longest-running Armenian-language newspaper in Paris, widely read in the diaspora.[87] Der Nersessian's scholarly description of the Zeytun Gospels must have triggered Dr. Der Ghazarian's

most traumatic memories: the terrible night of the Battle of Marash in February 1920, when the Zeytun Gospels had fallen behind, the night when so many Marashtsis perished, and that Dr. Artin himself survived only by the skin of his teeth.

Reading about a manuscript he had held in his hands long ago moved Der Ghazarian. He forcefully endorsed the art historian's tentative conclusion that Atamian's Canon Tables in Watertown must have come from the Zeytun Gospels, even though it had been forty-seven years since the doctor had seen either the mother manuscript or the fragment. Der Ghazarian reiterated his involvement with the Gospels in Marash, repeating the facts he had related to Surmeyan thirty years earlier in 1936. Der Ghazarian recounted his experience with the manuscript: how the Surenian clan arrived from Zeytun to Marash, how they were subsequently exiled to Der Zor, how Der Ghazarian managed with great difficulty to persuade Surenian to lend the manuscript to him, how he took the book to the German hospital in Marash. Once more he relived the Battle of Marash of 1920, the burning of the Armenian neighborhoods, the street battles between the French, the Armenians, and the Turks, the scores of victims, the atrocities, and the withdrawal of the French: "panic everywhere."[88] Then Der Ghazarian's own desperate escape in the snowstorm with his sisters, and the fateful loss of the manuscript, wrapped in its precious Persian shawl.

Der Ghazarian then reconstructed events that took place after his flight from Marash. An unnamed Turkish man suffered from recurring nightmares that repeatedly warned him to return the book to the Armenians. He came to find Father Khachadur, who paid him twenty-two *mecidiye*s for the manuscript. Presently Der Ghazarian added additional details that he had not mentioned in his 1936 letter. He was clearly trying to come to terms with the fact that the Canon Tables had been separated from the mother manuscript, and he was scouring his memory to fathom how that may have happened, even though years had passed, memories had faded, and

witnesses had long since died. Der Ghazarian wrote that before the Turkish man brought the Gospels to Father Khachadur, he took the book to an Armenian, "Nazaret Atamian," hoping to sell it to him. This Atamian kept the book for a few days, during which he "cut out" several pages in an "undetectable manner," and returned the book to the Turkish man, declining to buy it.[89] Only then did the Turkish man take the book to Father Khachadur.

The full sequence of events will inevitably elude us. Der Ghazarian's 1967 version of the separation of the Canon Tables from the mother manuscript is plausible, but his reconstruction of events that took place in his absence is speculative. For one thing, Der Ghazarian was mistaken about Atamian's first name. The Atamian to whom the Turkish man offered the manuscript could not have been Nazaret, who was around ten to eleven years old at the time, but rather his father, Melkon.[90] And the person who removed the Canon Tables from the manuscript was, by his own admission, Melkon's thirteen-year-old son, Hagop. In addition, Der Ghazarian, who was no longer in Marash when the Gospels changed hands, does not specify how he learned about the interaction between the Turkish man and Atamian.

It is likely that Dr. Der Ghazarian was unaware that the manuscript so dear to him had been tampered with until he read about the separation of the Canon Tables from the mother manuscript in Der Nersessian's article.[91] Only then, decades removed from events to which he was not witness, did he try to piece together what happened. Thus, Der Ghazarian must have reasoned, the only time the removal of the pages could have taken place was *before* Father Khachadur took custody of them and then entrusted them to Lyman, who in turn delivered the manuscript to the Patriarchate in Istanbul.

"Here I wish, in a particular way, to impart some specifics": the now-elderly Dr. Der Ghazarian still needed to tell his story about the holy book that had "remained with me in Marash, for almost three years." At a remove of decades, Der Ghazarian's emotions

remained raw about the holy book's disappearance, its reappearance, its miraculous deliverance, as well as its mutilation. The fate of the manuscript he had saved and lost haunted him. If Der Nersessian's hypothesis was correct that the Zeytun Gospels as well as its detached Canon Tables had been miraculously preserved, then "the oldest work of Toros Roslin too has reached us in its entirety." The art historian's article rekindled Der Ghazarian's hope that the precious book had survived against the odds. He repeated, "The masterpiece of the miniaturist Toros Roslin was saved from loss."[92] Those illuminated pages still held the doctor from Marash under their spell.

THE SILENCES OF DER NERSESSIAN'S ART HISTORY

Sirarpie Der Nersessian made her mark on academic art history in the United States at a time when the category of Byzantine art was being redefined. Surveys of art history emphasized the exotic nature of Byzantine icons with their hieratic poses and Eastern Christian iconography, so distinct from medieval European traditions and their gradual move toward realism and emotional expressiveness. Despite the fact that Byzantine art was in fact contemporary to European medieval art, art history survey textbooks conveyed the impression that it constituted an earlier, insular tradition that left no legacy in the later development of European art.[93] Armenian art, too, occupied a position within this conception of Byzantine art in world art history, as a tradition that was marginal even to Byzantine art, just as Byzantine art was marginal to Europe.[94]

Der Nersessian challenged this established view in a quiet but determined way. Her scholarship militated against marginalizing Byzantine and Armenian art and instead took these art traditions seriously on their own terms, as seen in her remarkable record of publications, exhibitions, and symposia. She brought to bear her knowledge of the Byzantine and Islamic traditions, her expertise in

paleography, history, and connoisseurship, as well as her many research languages on the study of Armenian art. She sought to demonstrate that it was not a tradition marginal to Byzantine art but rather a strong cultural practice on a par with other contemporary traditions. Indeed, by the time her last book, *Miniature Painting*, appeared in 1993, Der Nersessian's scholarly legacy "ha[d] ensured the move of Armenian Art out of the realm of Levantine exotica and into that of a rich heritage in its own right with sophisticated social, intellectual, and artistic messages about the Mediterranean community of cultures."[95] *Miniature Painting* evinces a deep engagement with two centuries of manuscript production in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia. It studies the production of luxury manuscripts in the context of the history of the kingdom as well as the broader development of Armenian art.[96] Der Nersessian achieved the panorama of Armenian miniature painting that Hovsepian had envisioned but never completed. Hers was a masterpiece of precision, of astute comparisons and connections, of controlled and careful writing. Drawing on her lifetime of research and thinking about art, Der Nersessian labored single-mindedly on the completion of her ultimate book. In her nineties, living alone in her Paris apartment, with most of her family and friends deceased, conscious that time was running out, she persisted: "I must absolutely complete this work even if I am not able to see it published."[97] The need to complete the work—to fulfill the task she had set herself—gnawed at her.

Yet this masterpiece of art history strangely lacks either an introduction or a conclusion.[98] Der Nersessian's opus begins as abruptly as it ends. The book makes no definitive overarching claims; it presents no broader theory of art, and it lays out no explicit framework for the study of Armenian art. This is an art history of restraint, of precision, of nuance, that constructs narrative out of the chronological study of artworks in time.

If Der Nersessian's book focuses on manuscript illumination, it is largely because manuscripts comprise the majority of artworks that

have survived from the Kingdom of Cilicia. Objects in other media that have come down to us are rare.[99] Yet medieval texts speak in awed tones of the extravagance of Cilicia and reveal that the religious and royal spheres were replete with a host of luxury arts. Paintings decorated the walls of churches. Fine textiles, jewels, and precious metalwork enhanced courtly ceremonies.[100] Of this lost visual world only manuscripts survived, with rare exceptions. Yet Der Nersessian's text does not discuss what was lost or speculate on art known only through description. She focuses on the material at hand.

In addition to the wear and tear of time and natural disasters, however, Cilician art, including the manuscripts themselves, had *recently* undergone a particular kind of trauma. The Armenian Genocide and its aftermath meant that the churches and the living congregations that had revered the Cilician manuscripts and used them in their liturgy had been wiped away violently in very recent memory, in Der Nersessian's own lifetime. And yet *Miniature Painting* is discreet, even evasive on the matter of the recent history of the Armenians, and makes no comment on the current status of the regions where the Cilician manuscripts were produced and used until so recently.[101] The text limits itself to its medieval subject matter. Any discussion of the location or provenance of the manuscripts is brief and factual and does not consider the developments of the early twentieth century.[102] The genocide and its aftermath, the obliteration of the society where the manuscripts still functioned as liturgical objects, the destruction of churches, the circumstances that compelled the dispersal of the manuscripts to New York, Watertown, or Yerevan from Zeytun, Sivas, or Sis are left outside the text. This was a clear choice. Der Nersessian was intimately aware of the travails of the manuscripts and documented them in her extensive research files, not least because these travails dictated how and where she could conduct her research.[103] Thus she examined manuscripts at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore and not at the Monastery of Surp Nishan in Sivas. She carefully cut out Dr. Der Ghazarian's

1967 article on the history of the Zeytun Gospels between 1915 and 1920 and filed it in her research folder on the manuscript, but she did not include that information in her own publications on the Gospels.[104] Der Nersessian's own life and career had been shaped by the genocide; indeed, her studies began shortly after her exile from her birthplace became permanent. In spite of this, Der Nersessian banished her people's trauma—which was indeed her own as well—outside of her scholarly text. Inside the pages of *Miniature Painting* only the medieval reigns. She retraced the creativity and the originality of Cilician painting; she interpreted and clarified image cycles, religious narratives, and connections between the work of painters and calligraphers. Hers was a kind of art history where artifacts appeared as pure forms to be viewed and analyzed. They were not medieval objects that continued to function in the modern social world, that participated in liturgy, or became entangled with the art market, as objects that were torn apart and reunited, that were prayed to, looted, sold, or exhibited in museums. While she was no doubt aware of these issues, she chose not to address them in her writing. Art's destruction she relegated outside her text.

We do not know why Der Nersessian made this choice, but it was certainly a conscious choice. The great art historian was as aware of modern Armenian history, including the genocide and its aftermath, as any intellectual. When she died at ninety-three, a brand-new book on the denial of the Armenian Genocide was left half-read on her night table.[105]

The excision of the recent painful past from her text—a past so present in Hovsepian's writing—may have been due to the conviction prevalent among art historians of Der Nersessian's generation that the best place for a work of art was a well-run Western museum or private collection. There was no discussion then of such things as the rights of refugee communities like Armenians to their art or religious culture, or of the rights of states like Greece, Italy, or Lebanon where antiquities were found and then more or less legally exported;

or that collectors and museums exhibited a cavalier attitude toward objects that were obviously stolen or trafficked. We do not know Der Nersessian's personal view on these issues, but the art history of the time did not focus on the social life of objects. Instead it viewed and analyzed them as if they were entirely detached from their contemporary context—as museum displays, as looted antiquities, or as survivor objects like the Zeytun Gospels.

NEW YORK AND ARMENIAN ART

New York was the gateway to America for many Armenian immigrants from the Ottoman Empire, as for countless others. The earliest Armenians had settled in New York in the 1830s. By the 1900s Armenians and their businesses had become such a ubiquitous part of the city's landscape that Sinclair Lewis observed: "The Armenian restaurant is peculiar. . . . Here prosperous Oriental merchants, of mild natures and bandit faces, drink semi-liquid Turkish coffee and discuss rugs and revolutions."[106] New York, the city where individuals from all over the world converge, cross paths, and reinvent themselves, was also a place through which works of Armenian art came to the art market and where dealers, scholars, and artists reinvented the history of Armenian art.

As the Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels remained away from public view in the Atamian family home, three great personalities crossed paths in and around New York. In very distinct ways, Archbishop Hovsepian, the art dealer Dikran Kelekian, and the art historian Sirarpie Der Nersessian contributed to creating the field of Armenian art. Sharing a common interest in the culture of their people, they all knew each other and were further linked by mutual friendships both professional and personal. Besides his enormous activity as an art dealer, Kelekian also amassed a considerable personal art collection. Sirarpie Der Nersessian was studying the Armenian manuscripts in Kelekian's collection soon after her arrival in the United States.[107] Der Nersessian had first met Hovsepian in

Istanbul before the war; Hovsepian always held "Miss Der Nersessian," his revered mentor's niece, in the highest regard. Hovsepian relied on Kelekian for guidance about works of Armenian art that were circulating on the art market. For each, the path that took them to the United States began with war, genocide, and trauma. Even though all of them carved out brilliant careers in their chosen paths, each was scarred by the genocide, the expulsion of their people from their ancestral homelands, the spread of Armenians throughout the world, the internal divisions of the Armenian Church in the United States, and the slow asphyxiation of political agency and economic power among the remaining Armenian community in Turkey.

Each chose a different path—the church, academe, the art market. Hovsepian's scholarship opened new paths in the study of medieval manuscripts, and his leadership in the church made the celebration of Armenian art part of communal life. Kelekian as a dealer went far beyond a commercial enterprise by discovering and popularizing new categories of art history, including medieval Armenian art. Der Nersessian brought Roslin and all aspects of Armenian illumination into mainstream art history and brought academic rigor to their study.

They all crossed paths with fragments of the cultural heritage that had once been that of the Ottoman Armenians, that now appeared in New York as family heirlooms, objects to be sold, or prize artworks in museum displays. In a sense, these personalities, too, were fragments. Each uniquely recreated something of the lost world of Ottoman Armenians into something new, in New York.

Far away, in Yerevan, others were also looking at the medieval master painter, and in Toros Roslin they saw a maker of the Armenian nation.

Chapter 7

YEREVAN

Toros Roslin, Artist of the Armenian Nation

• AN APARTMENT IN YEREVAN. ARMENIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC. 1984.

A charcoal dawn was rising as Razmik Davoyan sat at his writing desk. He battled the same daunting task every day: to take his anger, his defiance, and his hopes and to tame them into literary form—a form that the censor would approve for publication.

He was a poet. He owed it to himself to tell the truth, about the anguish he felt and the anguish he saw etched on the faces of those close to him. About the weight that ground him down, that had crushed even the bravest. "They," the comrades, were always watching. They could make you disappear. They could pound you into silence or into drab conformity, to the point where you would willingly mute your own voice and write suitable verse about farmers harvesting turnips.

He was a poet, but he would turn to storytelling now. He would take the life of the greatest Armenian artist, pull it from the dust of centuries and the antiseptic, state-sponsored confines of the museum, and with it he would tell his own story, of a poet and his people and their land. He would grasp the past, rewrite the present, and conjure a future. He turned a fresh page in his notebook and wrote the title, "Toros Roslin."

. . .

Toros Roslin's place in art history and in Armenian identity underwent a sea change in the twentieth century. An obscure signature in a few medieval colophons became Armenian art's most recognized name. Scholars, collectors, and museums revered him as a master

illuminator. Beyond the circle of specialists, popular artists and writers drew inspiration from Roslin. The Armenian public saw him as a source of pride and an icon of national identity.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, those who came into contact with the Zeytun Gospels knew nothing about its illuminator. They considered the manuscript sacred and beautiful, but it was its patron, Catholicos Constantine, that enhanced its value with his historical prominence. In the 1930s, when Dr. Der Ghazarian wrote about the manuscript, he recalled its patron and not its illuminator.[1] By contrast, thirty years later, aware of Roslin's growing reputation as one of the great medieval artists, Der Ghazarian recognized that the glittering book he had once held in Marash had been "the masterpiece of the miniaturist Toros Roslin."[2]

It is through the colophons he wrote that Roslin transmitted his name to his modern viewers. Medieval Armenian objects retained the memory of their makers and could reveal them when activated. Armenian manuscripts characteristically featured colophons that constituted "repositories of memory," the literal meaning of their Armenian name, *hishadagaran*. The original scribe wrote the first colophon, but subsequent owners or even readers appended notes that sometimes amounted to short historical chronicles. Thus a Gospels manuscript could double as a historical document. True, many notations written long after the fall of the Cilician Kingdom are brief, in vernaculars difficult to parse, and describe local events lost in the fog of history. But even such lines add the personal and the particular to static classic texts such as the Gospels. In the twentieth century, scholars and priests turned to colophons to unlock the history of Armenian art.

THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY CAREER OF TOROS ROSLIN

Toros Roslin's name and his art remained virtually unknown for nearly seven centuries.[3] In the early twentieth century, a scholar discovered Roslin and enthusiastically introduced his work to his readers. Thus

the first scholarly discussion of Roslin's work occurred in 1910–13 when Bishop Mesrob Der Movsisian published articles entitled "Armenian Miniatures." A priest and art historian in the mold of the later Karekin Hovsepian, Der Movsisian embarked on perhaps the earliest project to create a master inventory of Armenian manuscripts. For this ambitious purpose he traveled to monasteries and book repositories in Istanbul, Jerusalem, Venice, Egypt, as well as Rome, Paris, and Oxford.[4] In his overview of the manuscripts and works of architecture of early medieval Armenia that had come down to his day, he was struck by the quality of surviving works of Armenian art as well as the sheer volume of works that were missing. He drove home the point that the manuscripts he was able to examine—the survivors—constituted only a fraction of the books, art objects, and monumental buildings medieval society had created. Specimens of paintings, relief sculptures, and church domes from medieval Armenia that he saw and admired thus stood alone, with few comparable examples from the same time and place.[5] This frustrated the art historian's effort to reconstruct the development of culture. It also prompted reflections on the tumultuous destiny of the Armenian people, who had endured repeated invasions, had lost sovereignty and become a subject people, witnessing the destruction of their cultural patrimony more than once. Writing on the eve of the genocide, unaware of the greater devastation still to come, Der Movsisian mourned the loss of the past: "What other inheritance could have been possible from the black-fated history of Armenia? . . . We have a duty to gather together with particular care these miserable fragments if we wish to envision our historic civilization in its true shape."[6] In this understanding, every surviving artifact of Armenian history acquired a renewed importance, in itself and as a stand-in for all that had been lost.

Among the illuminated manuscripts he studied on his journeys, Der Movsisian noted that a larger corpus of objects survived from the Cilician Kingdom compared to other periods of Armenian history. Consequently, Cilicia occupied a crucial position in Armenian

art history by virtue of this greater rate of survival of artworks. Der Movsisian singled out individual paintings from medieval Cilician books for special analysis and praise, and published them for the first time in grainy black-and-white photographs. He proceeded to introduce his readers to an obscure artist named Toros Roslin, who had painted some of the published images: "The name Roslin is completely unknown."[7] Yet, Der Movsisian found, Roslin had been among the most productive of the Armenian illuminators and scribes, creating art for the highest echelons of Cilician society.

Der Movsisian had encountered Roslin's work while leafing through the painter's manuscripts preserved in Jerusalem. He was aware of the Zeytun Gospels only through a handwritten copy of its colophons that he came across at the library of the Mekhitarian Brotherhood's monastery in Venice.[8] In addition to photographs of the paintings, Der Movsisian published, for the first time, the colophons Roslin wrote at the end of his manuscripts. In them the painter speaks with eloquence and veneration of his patrons but says little about himself. The bishop observed repeatedly, "Practically nothing is known [about Roslin]."[9] If he was an ordained priest, his rank is unknown. Whether he was a noble or a commoner is also vague. In the colophons he wrote, the painter gave his name: "Toros, surname Roslin, after my forebears."[10] The name then became, and remains, one of the few established facts about the artist, and therefore a focus of analysis and speculation. His first name, Toros, a form of Theodoros, was certainly Armenian and common enough, especially in Cilicia. By contrast, his surname was unusual. Der Movsisian noted, "Roslin is not an Armenian's name."[11] Its etymology is obscure, certainly foreign, and probably European. Der Movsisian hypothesized that the painter may have been an "Armenized European," that is, an Armenian Christian of European origin, an identity not unusual in thirteenth-century Cilicia.[12] For twentieth-century scholars, Roslin's possible European origins were fascinating and dovetailed with modern aspirations toward Westernization and cosmopolitanism.

By the time Der Nersessian's summation of manuscript painting in Cilicia appeared in print eighty years later, Roslin had claimed a prominent position in Armenian history and art. Der Nersessian's book's longest analysis of a single individual is its section devoted to Toros Roslin's career.[13] By the 1980s Der Nersessian had at her disposal a whole body of scholarship on the artist, in addition to her own pioneering research on Roslin since the 1930s. Indeed, by the time Der Nersessian wrote her summation of his career, Roslin's transformation from obscurity to renown was complete. The cumulative scholarly achievements in Soviet Armenia as well as the West had two implications. On the one hand, they brought the discourse on Cilician Armenian illumination and Armenian art in general into the realm of mainstream academic art history. On the other hand, they helped construct the image of Toros Roslin as a master artist with a distinctive style, a drive for innovation, a corpus of achievements, and elements of a biography as reconstructed from historic documents. These are, of course, key elements of any art historical narrative of an artistic personality. By the late twentieth century, Toros Roslin, along with a tiny handful of medieval Armenian artists whose names have been recorded, such as the painter Sarkis Bidzag and the architect Trdat, had already become well known beyond academic circles and in the popular imagination.[14]

Yet despite nearly a century of research, Der Nersessian did not dispose of much historical information to round out the painter's biography. She commented on the rise of the image of Roslin: "Strangely enough, neither his contemporaries nor his pupils and assistants ever refer to Roslin, and in later centuries he is mentioned only once . . . almost incidentally . . . in the late 17th c. . . . But Roslin's name has now become familiar even to those who have but a slight knowledge of Cilician miniature painting."[15] The few biographical elements on Roslin come from his own very reticent comments in the colophons he wrote, and no additional sources have been located. One can further glean the name of his brother, Anton,

about whom nothing further is known, and his teachers, Giragos and Hohannes, some of whose works survive.[16]

Der Nersessian compiled a summation of the master's corpus. She presented the seven manuscripts signed by him, preserved intact or almost intact, of which the Zeytun Gospels was the earliest. Roslin produced these seven within a span of twelve years, from 1256 to 1268. She also presented three other manuscripts almost certainly by him. Roslin was often both scribe and illuminator, as in the case of the Zeytun Gospels. Elsewhere he provided the illuminations while another scribe wrote out the text. In other instances he acted as the leader of a workshop, executing the most crucial painterly passages while junior painters or assistants completed other sections. All but one of Roslin's known works were Gospels, decorated in the most luxurious materials available, using pigments of mineral rather than vegetal origin to allow for intense colors, and including extensive use of gold and silver and rich cycles of illumination.[17] Creating Gospels may have been an act of devotion, but their illuminated pages were nothing short of magnificent.

Building on the work of scholars writing in Armenian, French, and Russian in the postwar era, Der Nersessian devised a canon of Roslin's work and guided her readers in understanding and appreciating it. A cautious scholar, Der Nersessian was reticent about identifying his hand in unsigned manuscripts. She was also very careful about making judgments about his work's evolution over time, estimating that it was difficult to trace the development of a personal style in his books. Her summary of Roslin's career resists the temptation to celebrate him as a great master.[18] Der Nersessian kept her focus on the imagery and comparisons. Her comments on Roslin addressed his iconographic innovation, his continuous refining of his own work, and the visual form of his imagery. A consummate art historian, she formulated the definition of a painterly style; the "fundamental qualities" of Roslin's art were "color harmonies, elegance of line, and expressive intensity."[19]

Der Nersessian's intervention had a key implication for the life of the Zeytun Gospels: its association with Toros Roslin as his first known signed work, and the rise of Roslin as a master in art historical narrative. The rise of Roslin as a maker of the Armenian nation, especially during the second half of the twentieth century, also correlates with the ultimate movement of the Zeytun Gospels' mother manuscript.

SOVIET YEREVAN AND THE MOTHER MANUSCRIPT

The late 1960s marked a shift in the way Armenians commemorated their recent past, just as the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels changed hands and locations a final time. In 1967 Dr. Der Ghazarian, residing in Aleppo, revisited the trauma of the loss of the sacred manuscript in an Armenian newspaper in Paris; in the same year, a statue of Toros Roslin took its place alongside the great men of Armenian history on the façade of the Matenadaran, the Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan; and in 1967 or 1969 the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels went from Istanbul to Soviet Armenia.

The year 1967 was also when Soviet Armenia built an official memorial of the Armenian Genocide on Dzidzernagapert (Swallow's Fortress), one of the hills of the capital Yerevan, overlooking the Hraztan River gorge. The mother manuscript's tale shifted to Soviet Armenia at a time of tension and transformation. Armenia was recovering from the repression, purges, forced migration, and sheer hunger of the Stalin years, as well as the devastation and bloodletting of World War II. Since the mid-1960s, Brezhnev led the Soviet Union. He reversed some of the religious and cultural liberties his predecessor, Khrushchev, had tolerated. The Brezhnev years are remembered as an "Era of Stagnation" and of rampant corruption. Official Soviet ideology and culture aimed at imposing homogeneity in all the Socialist Republics, yet particularist and nationalist

sentiments remained vital. Soviet Armenia, on the western periphery of the USSR, had endured its share of the Communist regime's exactions and its control over speech and expression. Yet despite the repression, or perhaps as a result of its ferocity, national sentiment endured in many forms in the Soviet Union's smallest republic.[20]

This resulted in a constantly shifting balance between contradictory impulses. Life under the Soviet regime was characterized by a tension between the obligatory public conformity to Soviet ideology and private or covert expressions of alternative or dissenting views. Razmik Davoyan (born 1940), considered the greatest living poet of Armenia, described this as an "all encompassing machinery which destroyed the human spirit."[21] Nevertheless, political and cultural leaders tested boundaries, as did underground activists. They suffered drastic consequences if they were deemed too transgressive, and numerous Armenian intellectuals and activists endured internment in Siberian prison camps. The very leadership of Soviet Armenia was caught in this balancing act. From the early 1960s onward, Soviet Armenian leaders pursued a dual role, supporting national interests on the one hand, while continuing to "placate Moscow" on the other.[22] National pride began to take on a greater public presence, with an insistence on the Armenian people's own history apart from the official Soviet version, and in particular on the memory of the genocide.

Although limited and firmly within the framework imposed by the Soviet system, expressions of Armenian national sentiment sometimes erupted. Thus on the symbolic day of April 24, 1965, around one hundred thousand protestors took to the streets of Yerevan to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide. The unauthorized demonstration was the first of its kind in the Soviet Union. Protestors first gathered on Lenin Square, where they resisted police attempts to disperse them. They then marched through the streets and occupied Opera Square for a day. They demanded justice, with slogans like "Our lands, our lands!"

(*mer hoghere, mer hoghere*) in reference to their places of origin in Anatolia. State-sanctioned intellectuals and public figures pleaded with them to disperse peacefully. The crowd paid them no heed. In the end, Soviet troops came in to restore order.

The demonstration constituted a watershed that marked the beginnings of public discussion of the Armenian Genocide and greater interest in Armenian history and culture in the Soviet public sphere. The 1967 construction of the Genocide Memorial complex was widely seen as a response to the demonstrations of 1965. In reality, plans for a memorial had begun in the early 1960s within the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Armenian SSR, spurred by the first secretary, Yakov (Hakob) Zarobyan. Around the time of the demonstrations, however, the central Soviet power made its displeasure known by replacing Zarobyan as the head of the party and recalling him to Moscow. Thus Soviet Armenia remained caught between adherence to Soviet conformity and the assertion of Armenian cultural difference.

The demonstrations on the fiftieth anniversary of the Armenian Genocide mark a "memorial turning point," not only for Armenians in the SSR but for the worldwide diaspora.[23] The fiftieth anniversary marked not only the resurgence of the memory of the collective trauma of genocide but also the rise of demands for recognition and reparations. Despite the common thread of memory and many official and unofficial links, the Armenian SSR's relationship with the Armenian diaspora was fraught with tension, enmity, and mutual distrust.[24] On the one hand were negative perceptions. Thus Soviet Armenian culture officially vilified the Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Tashnagtsutiwn), the party that had led the briefly independent Republic of Armenia (1918–20); exiled by the Communists, it subsequently dominated diaspora communities. Conversely, the ARF and its affiliates opposed the influence of the Armenian SSR on the diaspora at every turn, as seen dramatically in the church divisions in America—the rift that Hovsepian had failed to heal.

On the other hand, the ties between the Soviet Republic and the diaspora remained strong and multifaceted, even across the Iron Curtain. Travel created some of these ties: diaspora Armenians visited and some immigrated to the Armenian SSR. Indeed, just after World War II Stalin authorized a program that enabled an estimated 150,000 diaspora Armenians to immigrate to the Soviet Republic. Heralded as a "repatriation," the program provided funds for the relocation and resettlement of families, mostly genocide survivors from the former Ottoman Empire and their children. The integration of these new Soviet citizens proved difficult, even traumatic, as they discovered the challenges of adapting to a homeland with a markedly different economic and political system than what they knew, and where locals spoke a completely different form of the Armenian language and eyed the newcomers warily.[25]

In addition, the Armenian SSR exercised "soft power" through culture: official government committees cultivated relationships with the diaspora under the rubric of cultural "exchange," which involved the dissemination of official Soviet Armenian literature and culture to diaspora communities. In this manner, Soviet Armenia—located on a tiny fraction of the lands where Armenian civilization had traditionally flourished—positioned itself as the source and arbiter of knowledge about Armenian culture, a beacon to all Armenians who looked for a homeland.

It was statehood that enabled Soviet Armenia to achieve this. Even under Soviet rule, crushed under the heavy hand of the Politburo in Moscow and having no independent foreign policy, the Armenian SSR was nevertheless a state. And even the smallest of the USSR's constituent countries enjoyed the props of statehood. These props included the ability to develop and support official institutions for the preservation and promotion of Armenian culture, equipped with budgets, stability, and professional staff. In spite of Soviet censorship, corruption, and inefficiency, the Armenian SSR established

art institutions, including those devoted to the study of manuscripts. No diaspora Armenian community could match this.

This then was the backdrop against which the Zeytun Gospels moved to Armenia, following the path of the thousands of diaspora "repatriates" who "returned" to a homeland to which they had never been before. Archbishop Shnorhk Kalustian, the longest-reigning Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople in the twentieth century, must have presented the holy book to his hierarchical superior, Vazken, Catholicos of All Armenians. Kalustian may have taken the Zeytun Gospels with him on his visits to Echmiadzin in the Armenian SSR in 1967 and 1969, or Catholicos Vazken may have received the Gospels on his pontifical visit to Istanbul in 1969 and brought it back with him.[26] Presenting the Catholicos with gifts of value, particularly ancient church treasures, was an unspoken expectation of such ecclesiastical visits. The Catholicos Vazken in turn donated the manuscript to the Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, the Matenadaran, in Yerevan in October 1969.[27]

Catholicos Vazken prioritized the collection and preservation of Armenian religious objects, many of them gifts from around the world. He established a close working relationship with the director of the Matenadaran, Levon Khachikyan. As Communist official culture was antireligious, its relationship with the Armenian Church was fraught. Mindful of the ever-present danger of suppression, Catholicos Vazken entrusted the most precious and fragile manuscripts from Echmiadzin to the Matenadaran where they could be repaired, studied, and preserved. At the time, the Matenadaran was the only institution in the Armenian SSR with the capacity to conserve ancient books.[28]

The home of the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels, the Matenadaran is a crucial institution in the study and dissemination of Armenian culture and a symbol of Armenian statehood.[29] The very location of the institute in Yerevan's modern plan is telling. The Armenian capital's setting, surrounded by hills, resembles a bowl. In

the 1930s the architect Aleksandr Tamanian redesigned the Soviet Republic's new capital. He largely replaced the "Oriental" urban fabric of the modest nineteenth-century city Yerevan had been. Then he turned it into a showcase of Soviet modernism that also celebrated Armenian culture. In the city center, within a circular plan that enclosed a rational grid, Tamanian included such props of Soviet grandeur as Lenin Square (today known as Republic Square), surrounded by state institutions housed in monumental buildings whose architectural style drew inspiration from medieval Armenian designs and modernized them for the twentieth century.[30] As part of this vision, the Matenadaran was located at the foot of a hill, at the end of a major artery, Lenin Prospekt (today known as Mashtots Avenue). In its urban location as well as its architectural design, the Matenadaran unambiguously expressed Soviet Armenian ambitions, and perhaps also the paradox of the revival of Armenian national sentiment within the framework of official Communism.

As one of the buildings that supported Soviet Armenian statehood, the Matenadaran featured a façade adorned with statues of the great men who had shaped Armenian culture and literature. At the center stood the image of Mesrob Mashtots, after whom the institute was named. He was the fifth-century priest and linguist who devised the Armenian alphabet. The unique alphabet of thirty-eight letters is a point of pride. In typical Soviet didactic manner, the statue depicts Mashtots as a teacher instructing youth with a large sculpted alphabet. This central image was flanked by sculptures of key figures of Armenian culture mostly drawn from medieval history, a time period the scholars at the Matenadaran studied intensively. Levon Khachikyan, the founding director of the Matenadaran, played the key role in the choice, privileging historical figures rediscovered and championed by the Soviet intelligentsia.[31] Collectively, these statues represented the makers of the Armenian nation—or more precisely the Soviet iteration of Armenian identity in the decades following

World War II. The only visual artist among the poets, historians, theologians, and mathematicians is Toros Roslin.[32]

The Matenadaran provided a setting for the collection and conservation of manuscripts, and it supported professional historians and paleographers to study them. Alongside a few other state-supported institutions, such as Yerevan State University's humanities departments and museums dedicated to literature and history, the Matenadaran trained and employed specialists in medieval Armenian language, literature, and art. They published their findings in Russian-language Soviet scientific reviews as well as the Matenadaran's own Armenian-language publications. Over the years, the Matenadaran staff collected thousands of manuscripts, fragments, and documents, most of them through gifts. The collection comprises materials in Persian, various strands of Turkic, and Georgian. But its greatest impact was on Armenian studies. The Matenadaran became the greatest repository of Armenian manuscripts, surpassing the centuries-old collections at the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Mekhitarian monastery in Venice. Here a wealth of materials was in one place, brought together from churches and monasteries as well as private collections from around the world. Out of these materials researchers crafted a modern history of the Armenian people.

Researchers discovered a fragmentary Gospels that is almost certainly in Roslin's hand. Long kept in the Church of the Holy Illuminator in the Armenian community of Nor Nakhichevan in southern Russia near Rostov-on-Don, it had been assumed lost. Researcher A. Gevorkyan identified it in Matenadaran's own collection as Ms. 8321. He also found the canon tables detached from this manuscript, as well as a fragmentary painting that had been cut out and pasted in another codex.[33] The fragment was a damaged but still-remarkable portrait of the Crown Prince Levon, son of Hetum I, as an adolescent boy. Magnificently dressed in clothes adorned with lions in gold

roundels and jeweled hems, the prince is flanked by two angels. The Catholicos Constantine had commissioned the Gospels as a gift for the young prince, his godson. Based on Levon's known birth date of 1236, this Gospels is dated to around 1250 and is closely identified with Roslin's style. If the attribution is correct, this is Roslin's earliest surviving work.

Matenadaran researchers identified yet another fragmentary Gospels as a probable work of Roslin's, Matenadaran Ms. 5458, which preserves fragments of a Gospels dated 1266 but unsigned. It is a manuscript whose materials themselves tell its story, of destruction and loss as well as resilience and loyalty to the past. This underlines the fact that the Matenadaran is more than an active center for research and conservation of manuscripts. Items in its collection like Ms. 5458 are survivor objects, rescued from Armenian communities destroyed during the genocide.

This manuscript consists of a Gospels written on paper and that incorporates fragments from an earlier Gospels written on parchment. The earlier pages came from a luxurious Gospels dated 1266. All that remained of it were thirty-eight folios from the Gospel of John as well as bits of paintings cut out and pasted on to the later, less costly paper pages.[34] The resultant hybrid parchment-paper codex was among the holy objects rescued from the Ottoman province of Van during the genocide.[35] The researchers dated the book's paper component to the medieval Armenian province of Vaspurakan near Lake Van in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, on the basis of the paleography and the style of miniatures.[36] During these two centuries, Vaspurakan was a disputed frontier region under the successive rule of the Kara Koyunlu dynasty, the Timurids, the Safavids, and finally the Ottomans. In these troubled times a priest named Hohannes crafted the hybrid book by binding the paper pages with the older parchment leaves. In a colophon of his own, he related that he found the medieval fragment in the hands of infidels, "like a lamb delivered to the wolves," and rescued it. Hohannes then bound the

salvaged pieces into a new manuscript, thus preserving them so that "the royal memorial written in it might not be lost."[37]

The "royal memorial" in question was the original medieval colophon, partially preserved on one of the thirty-eight older folios. It states that the manuscript was copied at Hromkla in 1266, during the reign of Catholicos Constantine I, and commissioned by "the God-loving and pious king."[38] The extant fragment did not preserve the king's name or that of the scribe. Hromkla in 1266 coincided with the time when Toros Roslin led the scriptorium sponsored by Constantine I. Only two full-size paintings survive among the fragments from 1266. One of them depicts Jesus adored by an angel after the Temptation. It was pasted on a later page made of paper.[39]

More discoveries were to come. In the late 1970s Artashes Matevosyan was conducting research within the stacks of detached manuscript pages that had ended up at the Matenadaran when he found additional leaves from the 1266 manuscript.[40] One of the leaves bore the continuation of the colophon. It revealed the royal patron's name, King Hetum I, and invited blessings on members of his family, notably his son and heir, Levon, the same prince depicted in the adolescent portrait of circa 1250. The youth was described as "born-in-the-purple," that is, destined to reign.[41] However, the colophon remained silent about the identity of the painter or the scribe. The similarity between the 1266 fragments' uncial script and marginal ornaments and those of Baltimore Walters Ms. 539 (the Sivas Gospels) strongly argues for Roslin's authorship, or that of his circle. From the hand of King Hetum of Cilicia this product of Hromkla's storied scriptorium somehow arrived in Van, where it came to be in tatters before Hohannes rescued it and remade it into a new sacred book. Then it was nearly lost and was rescued again, until some of its fragments were reunited in Yerevan as "repatriates."

The growing interest around the globe in the art of Roslin and Armenian illumination continued. The researchers at the Matenadaran compiled a definitive corpus of the signed and attributed works

of Toros Roslin. Their publications addressed scholarly and popular audiences in the Soviet Union and abroad through books about miniature paintings in the Matenadaran's collections, lavishly illustrated in color and in multiple languages, like Armenian, Russian, English, and French. For example, the Russian scholar Liddia Durnovo's illustrated works on Armenian miniatures were available in Russian, as well as in authorized English and French translations published abroad, with a preface by none other than Sirarpie Der Nersessian.[42] Ruben Drampian, later his daughter Irina Drampian, and Levon Chookaszian, among others, also produced books on miniature painting in general and on Toros Roslin in particular, often in multiple languages.[43] These activities were supported by a state institution, written by scholars employed by the state, and disseminated in books published by the state or authorized by it. From time to time, the state imposed restrictions on the study of "national" art or Christianity. Yet in general in the Armenian SSR the academic study of medieval Armenian miniatures was an authorized intellectual pursuit, one that addressed local and international audiences. Supported by the state, Matenadaran scientists traveled to international academic symposia abroad and collaborated with Western scholars like Der Nersessian.[44] For example, a book on Toros Roslin's oeuvre written collaboratively by Sirarpie Der Nersessian and Matenadaran scholars was planned, but it never materialized.[45] All this points to the fact that medieval Armenian art, and in particular miniature painting, had become a medium of communication and exchange with the West, a privileged cultural currency that the Soviet state deployed at home and abroad.

The Kingdom of Cilicia appears to have been a particular focus of research at the Matenadaran in the Soviet years for miniature painting as well as historical studies. This interest in Cilicia may simply be because more material has survived from the Cilician period than from the earlier Armenian Middle Ages. It may also be because some of the researchers' ancestors hailed from Cilicia, as in the case

of Levon Ter-Petrossian, who became one of the late Soviet period's most prominent political activists, and who was elected the first president of independent Armenia in 1991.[46] If there was a particular political dimension to the study of Cilician manuscripts, if they had a special resonance in the Soviet milieu, it was not overt.

In a general sense, Soviet-period Armenology was aligned with central Soviet historiography. It was influenced by communist ideology, but it also was heir to the Soviet shade of Eurocentrism, a worldview that emphasized the notion of civilization and encouraged high culture and a canonical vision of art history.[47] Soviet Armenian scholars used the toolbox of art history to interpret religious paintings in Cilician manuscripts. Thus, even though the context of the paintings was religious, the rhetoric of art history secularized the images, privileging their formal and visual rather than theological or liturgical aspects. Soviet art historiography revered the established canon of art and followed European art historiography in considering Armenian art as a category close to Byzantine art. Consequently, Soviet Armenian historiography had every interest in aligning itself with the canonical and with "civilization," which meant a European orientation rather than an East Asian or Islamic one. This may explain why Armenian researchers favored Cilicia. They positioned that kingdom on the Mediterranean shore as the privileged interlocutor of European Crusaders in the Middle East. True, Cilician Armenians had manifold cultural and commercial interconnections with the West. They intermarried with the Frankish nobility. Armenian church leaders in Cilicia engaged with Rome and even considered bringing the independent Armenian Church into the Catholic fold. The Crusader chronicles make frequent mention of the Armenian Kingdom, viewing it as an equal partner while the Crusader states in the Levant sought alliances with Armenian noble households. The historical evidence lent support to the interpretation of Cilician history as the time when Armenians played a pivotal role, especially from a European viewpoint. The fact that Cilician

Armenians also had manifold interconnections with Islamic and Asian groups was less emphasized in the historiography.

Equally important, Armenian historiography of the Soviet period was concerned with the ancient roots of the Armenian nation. In this regard, the historical evidence from Cilicia sheds light on the medieval roots of modern Armenian identity. The kingdom was clearly and unambiguously Armenian, its visual culture saturated with the Armenian script and language. The Cilician nobility belonged to and were ardent supporters of the Armenian Apostolic Church; they supported Armenian language and literature, erected monumental inscriptions in Armenian, and struck their coins with Armenian writings. At the same time, Cilicia was cosmopolitan, host to diverse communities with multiple languages and religions. The figure of Roslin as the emblematic Cilician artist also fits this "Armenian paradigm": while his work draws inspiration from motifs in other visual traditions, all of his works are in books in the Armenian language and fit unambiguously within the Armenian Church. Thus Cilicia presents a cosmopolitan yet distinctly Armenian society. In the many centuries of Armenian presence in Anatolia, art forms developed that could be understood under the paradigm of "hybridity": for example, the poetic traditions of Armeno-Kipchak, Armeno-Turkish, and Armeno-Byzantine (*horom*); and artistic compositions that integrate elements of diverse traditions, such as *muqarnas* vaults in churches. In Cilician art, however, especially manuscript painting, there was no ambiguity, no insecurity: here was a glorious Armenian heritage from which Armenians under Soviet rule could draw inspiration and pride.

Toros Roslin's rise as a great master of illumination and a maker of the Armenian nation also owes something to the fact that the artist's legacy fit in with these sensibilities. Enough works signed by the artist or closely identifiable with his style survived, along with fragments of information, that could be pieced together to tell the story of an artistic personality and his career. The concept of the

great artist as an individual genius is one of the enduring tropes of art history. In Roslin, Soviet scholars found a medieval Armenian genius-artist.

Toros Roslin's career could also be made to fit the idea of an Armenian culture that was open and connected to the world, and especially to the West. True, the evidence clearly indicates that Roslin knew and referenced Western artistic motifs. This can lend itself to the interpretation that while Cilician Armenians were secure in their identity, they tended to look west rather than east. Levon Chookaszian, Armenia's most prominent academic art historian of the Soviet and independence periods, emphasized this connection. He was the first to publish the miniatures of the Zeytun Gospels in a portfolio format in 1985.[48] The accompanying text is very brief; it neither names the Zeytun Gospels nor discusses the manuscript's composition and iconography. Rather, it limits itself to general comments on Roslin's style. In Chookaszian's view, Roslin's art was concerned with the human subject, as the painter drew human figures in individualized forms rather than as idealized generic portraits. This interpretation seems to imply that Roslin's art is closer to European art's pursuit of the faithful depiction of nature. It also indirectly suggests that Roslin's art is less comparable to Byzantine, medieval Islamic, or Asian art's tendency to depict human figures as generic rather than individuated. In his erudite interpretations of Roslin's style and iconography, Chookaszian sought comparisons to the Cilician painter's work in European art—particularly Italian and French examples.[49] For instance, he discerned Western iconographic principles rather than Byzantine ones in specific compositions, and he tracked particular pictorial details to the ornament tradition in Tuscany and to medieval French seals.[50]

The foreign etymology of Roslin's name also played into this interpretation. Chookaszian combed the colophons and the chronicles for clues about the artist's elusive social and ethnic identity. He noted that Roslin repeatedly named himself with the formulation *Toros,*

makanun Roslin (Toros, surnamed Roslin). Surnames being a privilege of the medieval nobility, he hypothesized that Roslin may have been a noble. He also proposed an origin for the artist's foreign name. In Scotland, near Edinburgh, the chapel and fortress of Roslin are associated with a noble lineage that participated in the Crusades. As frequent intermarriages between Crusader and Armenian nobles are well attested in the historical record, Toros may have been an Armenized descendant of this noble Crusader line from Scotland.[51] In the absence of any evidence other than the similarity of names, this connection can only be speculative, but it has held great appeal as it points to Europe and toward Western high culture.

SOVIET ARTISTS IMAGINE ROSLIN

Whatever its origins, the emphasis on medieval Armenian history and on the Cilician period in particular acquired a deep resonance in Soviet Armenian society and crossed over to public culture. Thus even a popular general-interest magazine such as *Garun* published articles and photographs of Roslin's artwork, democratizing the painter's appeal.[52] The man whose likeness adorned the façade of the Matenadaran thus saw his sacred paintings reach a wider audience than ever before in history. No doubt part of the attraction was that unlike most medieval manuscripts where scribes and artists are rarely known, here was a named painter whose very words had been preserved through the colophons, and whose paintings were now mass produced on glossy Soviet paper.

In the late 1960s Roslin's artistic personality became prominent in Armenian historiography in the Soviet Union as well as the diaspora. The Zeytun Gospels' link to Toros Roslin came to dominate discussions of the manuscript.[53] The holy book became a priceless work of art, the first signed work of Armenian art's greatest master.

By the 1960s and 1970s Roslin's artistic personality had become so central to Armenian art that critics discerned visual connections between contemporary artists and the medieval master, even when

such links were far-fetched. For example, a connection was made between him and Arshile Gorky, the New York-based abstract artist and genocide survivor from Van Province who has become an iconic figure of the Medz Yeghern. Thus Gorky's nephew and first biographer crafted letters from the artist to family, made public around 1971, that purported to show the admiration the abstract artist felt toward the medieval illuminator.[54] Scholars have called these documents into question, yet Gorky's enthusiasm for medieval Armenian art and specifically Roslin has become an unshakeable, enduring trope of mainstream Gorky criticism.[55] Many authentic documents prove Gorky's deep attachment to the visual and sensory landscape of his native Van and his deep if fraught relationship to his own Armenian identity. However, the great painter most likely had never heard the name Roslin, which was known only to a handful of specialists in the 1920s–1940s when Gorky was active. Yet Roslin had become a towering presence in Armenian art by the early 1970s when Gorky's nephew sought to highlight his uncle's connection to Armenian culture. No wonder the idea of a bond between the Armenians' greatest medieval master and their greatest modern painter resonated among the public.

Nevertheless, artists and writers did draw inspiration from Roslin. They crafted their own narratives of the scribe from Hromkla and made him a medium for the arguments or meditations of their day. In their work, Roslin became an emblem of a dissident politics.

Minas Avetisyan (1928–75), one of the best-loved artists of Soviet Armenia, is remembered today as the emblematic figure of the Armenian National Modernism movement.[56] In 1973 Avetisyan completed a series of murals that depicted his country's past, present, and future landscapes for buildings throughout Armenia. He made at least two versions of *The Birth of Toros Roslin*. The more elaborate version is located in the Court of Criminal Appeals in Yerevan.[57] Amid a lush landscape of brilliant colors, six women appear in pairs. The central pair holds a small naked child. The women on the left

hold out a tunic for him, while those on the right present bowls filled with fruit. Behind the pair on the right is a modest house with a tile roof. In the middle ground is a bridge. In the distance, at the center of the composition, is a walled city dominated by a building with a conical dome on a high drum—an Armenian church. The painting's dynamic colors contrast with the figures' static poses. Avetisyan imagined Roslin in a rural setting as a young child surrounded by caring peasant women. The scene does not draw upon Christian Nativity imagery. Instead, it offers a secular version of the Nativity, celebrating the birth of the artist rather than that of the Savior. The artist, like the Savior, appears among the peasantry, far from the city and monumental architecture. There are no males in the composition apart from baby Toros. The emphasis is on the hardworking, modest, beautiful, and nurturing Armenian peasant women, whose traditional costumes match the colors of the landscape. The women generate the artist, and the artist, it is implied, will generate culture. This vision of the fertile Cilician landscape, dotted with Armenian architecture, is imagined as the birthplace of a great artist. Rather than Christian motifs, it emphasizes secular Armenian signs: the folkloric costume of the women, the architecture. Nevertheless, the painting is an example of the Soviet-era rediscovery of Toros Roslin and his appropriation as a symbolic figure by artists, particularly artists associated with the resistance to the Soviet art establishment.

Avetisyan's interest in Roslin was part of his quest to craft a modern visual language steeped in the Armenian tradition, in both its learned and vernacular dimensions. Avetisyan was born in a Soviet Armenian village to genocide-survivor parents who hailed from Kars and Mush across the Turkish border. His parents' experience of exile recurs in his work. In lush colors, Avetisyan painted Armenian landscapes inhabited by farmers busy with daily activities, where remains of the medieval past often appear. He took a keen interest in miniature painting, hence in Toros Roslin. He was a noted member of the art scene in Yerevan, active as a designer in the theater and as an oil

painter and muralist. While he was popular toward the end of his life, he ran afoul of the Soviet authorities. When he died in a traffic accident at the age of forty-seven in 1975, many believed the KGB had murdered him. In the Armenian SSR, rumors of murders carried out by the KGB and disguised as accidents often surrounded the deaths of popular cultural figures, like the poet Paruyr Sevak, and helped create a tragic aura around the artists' solidarity with their Armenian identity and their defiance of Soviet dictates.

Roslin continued to inspire Soviet Armenian intellectuals. In the hands of the writer Razmik Davoyan, Roslin became a more politically explicit metaphor for the fate of the Armenian nation and the urgent role of art in the nation's very survival.

Davoyan was a prolific poet and member of the Soviet Armenian literary establishment. He was decorated by the *komsomol*, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, and served as an official of the Writers Union. Yet these distinctions did not insulate him entirely from the heavy hand of Soviet censorship. His novella, *Toros Roslin*, was blocked from publication in the USSR. It was instead smuggled out and published in New York in 1984.[58]

The story begins in 1256, the year the Zeytun Gospels was completed. King Hetum has traveled to the court of the Great Khan Möngke to forge an alliance with the Mongol Empire. A successful audience with the Great Khan seals a treaty between the little Kingdom of Cilicia and the expanding empire of the Mongols. Hetum then returns to Cilicia accompanied by a contingent of Mongol soldiers. The group crosses "Greater Armenia," that is, those regions of Anatolia where Armenian kingdoms once flourished. The king and his men observe how an earlier Mongol invasion has reduced these regions to ruin.

When the Mongol soldiers arrive at Hromkla, Toros Roslin takes over as the center of the narrative. Roslin provides the perspective from which the broader political situation of the Cilician Kingdom and the aspirations of the Armenian people are viewed.

The painter interacts with his patron the Catholicos Constantine, the members of the royal family, and the low people. The new alliance with the Mongols inspires almost universal dread. King Hetum has negotiated the alliance to ensure the survival of Cilicia, which is surrounded by hostile powers: the Seljuk Sultanate, the Mamluk Sultanate, and the smaller rival Crusader states. The awareness of Cilicia's vulnerability is acute: "Little [Armenia], Armenia away from Armenia, that simply cannot be defended, anyone can strangle it whenever he wants."[59] Thus Cilicia represents an Armenia reborn, albeit precariously, away from the heartland. Yet the Catholicos and the king have greater ambitions than mere survival. They cherish a dream of ultimately "uniting the two Armenias," that is, of uniting the Cilician Kingdom with the Greater Armenia of their ancestors.[60] This dream erodes as it becomes clear that the alliance between the small kingdom and the predatory Mongol Empire is not one of equals. The Mongol and Armenian armies do go on campaign together and jointly secure victories. But despite their putative alliance, the Mongol troops plainly aim to conquer and to extract wealth. As a character points out, "The end of this friendship is slavery."[61] By the end of the novel, the Mongols, repulsed by the Mamluks, return to their Central Asian capital, abandoning the Armenians in the face of an invasion. The Mamluk army overruns Hromkla.

The broader historical events unfold as the character Roslin lives his life, full of devotion to his art, to friendship, and of affection for his wife and child, veneration of the Catholicos his patron, respect for the royal family, of daily prayers, as well as his recurring dreams, nightmares, and prophetic visions, which he struggles to make sense of.

The novella draws upon a great deal of research. It is full of historical details and brings to life members of the royal dynasty and personages from medieval chronicles. Thus the priest Toros, who commissioned one of Roslin's manuscripts, appears as his best friend and sounding board for debates. Nevertheless, Davoyan's book is not a work of history. Rather, it draws upon history to present a certain

perception of Armenian identity. Davoyan fills in the blanks of the historical record, creating a fictional backstory for Roslin. Thus we learn that he was born in Edessa (Urfa), not far from Hromkla, where he was taken as a young boy to develop his talent as a painter. Nurtured by his teachers and his patron, Catholicos Constantine, Toros develops his art at the scriptorium of Hromkla. He is a man both deeply pious and attached to the world—he is not a cleric and has a child by a wife who is a scribe and calligrapher in her own right.

Though rooted in a vividly rendered time and place, the character of Roslin transcends his own historic time. He is haunted by dreams, premonitions, and a unique ability to feel the suffering that his people will endure in the centuries to come. The artist's work is instrumental for the destiny and legacy of his people. The novella explores the themes of Armenian defeat and loss, as well as resilience. A character defiantly asserts that a victory over Armenians will nevertheless ultimately cause the victor's abject defeat:

> You cannot defeat the Armenians . . . and end it there. True, they are vanquished, but among the victors a feeling of dissatisfaction always remains, a terrifying state of inferiority, that you cannot escape even if you forfeit your victory. You defeat them, you destroy everything, and yet they continue to create and build, to build and flourish, showing you in every way the very type of man created by God. . . . They ruin your victory.[62]

For Davoyan, even in defeat, Armenians' creativity ultimately undoes the enemy's victory.

Art is central to this understanding of Armenian history; it even drives history. Art enables Armenians to transcend political defeat and subjugation. Thus Roslin's art is the means through which the defeated Armenians ultimately prevail and best those who dominate them. Roslin's manuscripts, even when they are stolen and dispersed, become the agent by which the Armenian spirit emanates in the world and ensures the Armenian nation's place in history. Thus the priest

Toros reflects: "I am thinking of your lost manuscript. That stolen spirit of the Armenians now goes forth, it enters among the Italians, the Greeks, the Assyrians, the Franks, the Arabs; and sprinkling something of your light everywhere, it shows them our people's status . . . and so we will not disappear into the darkness, because that light cannot decay, it is eternal."

"True!" cries out Roslin. "All those who try to assert their status by shedding blood will disappear! Blood decays, does it not?"[63]

This exchange contrasts Armenians, a defeated nation whose legacy endures in the world through art, with other nations whose legacy is conquest. Yet conquest is doomed to be ephemeral. Even looted, Armenian art remains in the world as an index of the Armenian people, of their collective creative spirit. By contrast, violent conquest and domination is eventually consigned to the dustbin of history. This vision may be counterfactual—conquering peoples also create art, as the Mongols certainly did. But the novella assures its readers, who are understood to be Armenians, that their community may be small, dominated, defeated, and subjected to genocide, but it will ultimately prevail among world cultures through the power of its art. This is an enormous claim for art. Yet it is a claim that resonates when one thinks of the remnants of Armenian culture after the genocide. Perhaps it especially dovetails with the fate of the Canon Tables, that fragment from the Zeytun Gospels that would end up in Los Angeles a decade after the publication of Davoyan's novella. Even in their fragmentary and dispersed state, these artistic remains have the power to preserve within them the Armenian spirit and to inspire those with whom they come into contact. Art, even mutilated, can ensure the immortality of a people nearly erased from history.

At the novella's end, as the Mamluks raze Hromkla to the ground, Roslin is trapped in an underground studio where he has been illuminating a Gospels for Queen Keran. Alone, in darkness, he continues to paint until his supplies run out. He then opens a

trapdoor into a subterranean passage and proceeds in obscurity, his wooden shoes echoing on the stone floor. Roslin continues his path under the ground to this day. Everywhere in the Armenian world (*Hayastan ashkharh*), from Hromkla to Sis and into Greater Armenia, to Vaspurakan, Sasun, to the slopes of Mount Ararat, and even all the way to Davoyan's ancestral village of Medz Parni near Spitak in the Armenian SSR, when Armenian children put their ears to the ground they can still hear the sound of Roslin's footsteps as the painter moves within the earth.[64] The novella thus ends with a powerful image of the artist who has become one with the landscape of Armenia and has forged a link between medieval history and contemporary society.

Davoyan's vision turned Toros Roslin into a medium through which certain ideas could be uttered in Soviet Armenia. Thus one is struck by the parallel between the alliance of Cilicia and the Mongol Empire, and the membership of Armenia in the Soviet Union. Davoyan may have meant to compare the doomed alliance between the Cilicians and the Mongols to the "brotherhood of Soviet peoples." The Armenian SSR, like Cilicia, had entered into a more or less forced "alliance" with the Soviet Union, in the hopes of ensuring its survival against hostile neighboring nations. Theirs too was an "alliance" where the imbalance of power, this time between Yerevan and Moscow, would inevitably lead to exploitation and colonization. Like the Cilician rulers in the novel, many Soviet Armenians cherished a dream of uniting their small state with their ancestral lands, now lying in Turkey, a dream expressed by the slogan "our lands, our lands." Alternatively, the idea of the union of the "two Armenias," Cilicia and Greater Armenia, can perhaps be understood in the Soviet context as the dream of uniting Armenia with Nagorno-Karabakh, the autonomous region with a majority Armenian population that Soviet authorities placed in the Azerbaijan SSR in 1923. Indeed, the question of Karabakh was active at the time the novella was written, and within a few years of its publication the

"Karabakh Movement" became one of the catalysts of Armenia's secession from the Soviet Union. It was perhaps this politically dissident subtext that caused the novella to be banned from publication in the Armenian SSR.

Davoyan's *Toros Roslin* is also noteworthy because of the special role it assigns to art and to the artist. The idea of the artist as a privileged representative of his people, whose individual creativity is a sign of the collective Armenian genius, ensuring that nation's place in history, seems to suggest the role of Davoyan himself. At the end of the novella, when Toros makes his way through the bowels of the earth long after Hromkla has been sacked, his footsteps echo all the way to Medz Parni, the author's own village. Roslin's footsteps are audible only to those who listen. This implies a connection between Roslin and Davoyan as a writer in Soviet Armenia.

But even more than a comparison of the past to the present, Davoyan's *Toros Roslin* turns the story of the miniaturist into a parable of Armenian history. Surrounded by enemies, saddled with untrustworthy and predatory allies, Armenians know they are destined for defeat. Yet they are also endowed with the resilience that allows them to rise again and flourish. In Cilicia they created a new Armenia in exile from the Greater Armenia of earlier glory. And Soviet Armenia also represented a rebirth of the Armenian community following the devastation of the genocide. In this vision of history, where Armenians are ever defeated and ever resurrected, art plays a central role. Art is nothing less than the sign of the Armenian spirit (*hay voki*). Creating art, as Roslin and his fellow scribes do in Hromkla, is *the* way to be Armenian. Art is an "eternal light" that endures long after the victories of other nations have been forgotten—their conquests, raids, carnage, and domination.

Davoyan, writing under the weight of Soviet oppression, reflected upon what it means to be a defeated people. The idea that the vanquished can nonetheless triumph over those who persecute them is clearly a Soviet dissident's dream. In this vision, art, poetry, faith

can be the means by which a small group can oppose the powerful despite their military might and sheer numbers. Thus Davoyan's text probes at a deeply ingrained article of faith of modern Armenian identity: in spite of the degradation of defeat and genocide, we will prevail through our works and we will take our place among the great nations on earth. Cynics could easily dismiss Davoyan's vision as a fantasy. Yet it has universal resonance for all groups who perceive themselves outnumbered, persecuted, and threatened with genocide and oblivion.

Davoyan excavates a deep truth of a genocide survivor community: for such communities, art is not merely art. It is a sign and a condition of their survival on earth, and the guarantor that even long after they have been exterminated, something will outlive them and shine an eternal light. Art will serve as proof that they were once alive. This is why Roslin's manuscripts are so precious. They are survivor objects through which the community, or its trace, can survive extermination.

. . .

Transported to Yerevan, the Zeytun Gospels' mother codex joined other holy manuscripts and fragments in the largest repository of Armenian survivor objects, the Matenadaran. There it became part of a pivotal cultural institution of the Armenian SSR in the care of modern, secular scholars, many of whom were children of genocide survivors. Out of a collection of objects rescued from oblivion, they crafted a new history for Soviet Armenians, and they resurrected Toros Roslin as a master artist. The figure of Roslin, secular artist, drifted into the popular imagination. In the hands of Soviet Armenian artists and writers, the painter became more than an individual artist and his works, but a source of inspiration and aesthetic pleasure as well. Roslin and his work became the very sign of Armenian history, the collective legacy of the Armenian people, even the instrument of their revanche against invaders, plunderers, and perpetrators of genocide.

THE CANON TABLES: A FRAGMENT ON EXHIBITION

The Zeytun Gospels "repatriated" to the Armenian SSR just in time to witness the rise of Toros Roslin as a master artist that represented the collective legacy of Armenians. Halfway across the world, the Canon Tables, separated from the Gospels, followed a split path into the history of art and the consciousness of the Armenian diaspora.

The Zeytun Gospels' Canon Tables made its first public appearance in the United States when it was exhibited at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York in 1994. Until then, it had remained with the Atamian family in Watertown, Massachusetts. Upon Nazaret's death, the pages passed to his nephew Gil Atamian around 1980.[65] The family considered these pages a memento of their ancestor Melkon Atamian and their hometown Marash. Family members were unaware of how the Canon Tables figured in the studies of Hovsepian, Der Nersessian, and the scholars of the Armenian SSR. On occasion they showed the precious pages from the Old Country to friends or priests—as Nazaret Atamian had done with Archbishop Hovsepian in the 1940s, or with the longtime priest of Saint James Armenian Apostolic Church of Watertown. In the early 1990s Gil Atamian showed photographs of the Canon Tables to the pastor of Saint James, who referred him to his more erudite colleague in New York, Father Krikor Maksoudian.[66] That is how the Canon Tables came to the attention of the organizers of an important exhibition. It was only then that an art historian, Helen C. Evans, identified it with certainty as the missing Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels.

Evans was one of the contributing scholars to the first-ever exhibition of Armenian book arts in the United States, "Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts," at the Morgan Library in 1994. It was curated by Thomas F. Mathews, professor at the Institute of Fine Arts at New York University, and Roger S. Wieck, associate curator of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts at the Morgan. In addition to works from the Morgan Library's own

collection, the curators included some of the best-known works of Armenian art in American museum collections, such as Roslin's Sivas Gospels from the Walters Museum in Baltimore, as well as works in collections at academic libraries, such as those at Princeton University, the University of Michigan, and the University of California, Los Angeles. The J. Paul Getty Museum lent to the exhibition beautiful Armenian pieces from the Ludwig collection, a repository of valuable artworks the Getty had acquired a short time prior. The exhibition also featured previously unknown or little-known works from American private collections, some named and some anonymous. The Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels appeared as Catalog No. 82, from Private Collection II.

The exhibition catalog was thorough and comprehensive enough to serve as a survey textbook of Armenian illumination.[67] The major scholars of Armenian art and cultural history contributed to it as well as to the proceedings of a related symposium. These academic publications marked an important stage in the professional development of medieval Armenian miniature painting as a field of study. They clarified its chronology, its major trends, its relationship to the art of Byzantium, the Latin West, and Islamic societies, and its historical and political contexts and meanings. Art history took over the objects on display and ordered them into a layered history.

With the exhibition, Helen Evans became the first art historian to have seen and analyzed the Zeytun Gospels in its entirety—the mother manuscript as well as the fragment. She had completed her doctorate just four years before the exhibition, at New York University. For her dissertation on the scriptorium of Hromkla, she had studied the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels at the Matenadaran.[68] She recognized the lost Canon Tables of that manuscript in the fragment from Massachusetts. She confirmed what Sirarpie Der Nersessian had suspected in 1952: the Canon Tables in Massachusetts belonged to the Zeytun Gospels. For the exhibition catalog, she wrote a thoughtful essay and many entries on the works

on display. She could trace the development of Roslin's art from his first work through his last.

Evans, who became the curator of Byzantine art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, offered a fresh interpretation of Roslin's art. She showed that Cilician painting is comparable not only to Byzantine art; it also preserves evidence of contact and artistic exchange with the Latin West, Islamic art, even Chinese art. She reassessed the pictorial choices Roslin made in the Zeytun Gospels and his other works in light of the broader history of manuscript painting in Cilicia. She summarized, "In the [Zeytun Gospels'] richly decorated Canon Tables, incipit pages, and Evangelist portraits, and in its few figurative marginal illustrations, Roslin forged a unique style in which Byzantinizing elements were combined with earlier Cilician motifs and new Western influences."[69] Roslin and his teacher Hohannes at Hromkla drew upon precedents from the earlier scriptorium of manuscripts at Skevra, patronized by the influential church leader Nerses of Lampron. Nerses, a champion of the rapprochement between the Armenian Church and the Catholic Church in Rome, translated this orientation into art by encouraging specific motifs. For example, the Lamb of God, that is, Jesus represented in the form of a lamb, was common in European iconography but previously unknown in the Armenian tradition. The artists at Hromkla, and Roslin in particular, maintained some of the pictorial innovations of Skevra, but they also created their own. Thus in his earliest work, the Zeytun Gospels, Roslin took specific symbols and visual themes associated with Latin Christianity, such as the Lamb of God, figural incipit letters, the depiction of Christ on the way to Calvary, and Peter in the church, and adapted them to his own illustration style. Roslin's innovation thereby consisted in going beyond precedents in Armenian painting and introducing new motifs from Western sources.

Close political ties connected the Roman Church and the royal family, Roslin's patrons. Consequently, European monks visited Cili-

cia, bringing with them illustrated religious books that must have been the sources for the visual quotes Roslin introduced in his own paintings.[70] Evans suggested that what the Armenian Church leaders understood as union with Rome, a hotly debated issue in medieval sources, may have been similar to what Roslin did in painting: "adaptation rather than copying."[71] In other words, union was not understood in the sense of becoming one with the other, but in the sense of an exchange or dialog that involved taking something and making it one's own. Evans thus offered a sustained and specific interpretation of the European orientation of Roslin's work. She also traced Roslin's influence on Armenian painting after Hromkla: some of his innovations became naturalized within the Armenian tradition, at least as long as the Kingdom of Cilicia endured.[72] The exhibition at the Morgan made these subtle art historical arguments visible across the space of the gallery. Visitors could observe illuminated pages side by side, noting the similarities and differences in motifs and compositions that Evans and her colleagues had so painstakingly identified.

With the Morgan Library exhibition and the clear identification of the Canon Tables with the Zeytun Gospels, Gil Atamian must have discovered that the family heirloom was not only a precious, museum-quality work of Armenian art; it also had a known creator, Toros Roslin, who was nothing less than "the most famous Armenian artist," "widely recognized as the finest Armenian illuminator," and "Armenia's greatest illuminator; and his images established motifs used in all subsequent eras of Armenian illumination."[73] Once the Canon Tables was curated for the exhibition, with a secure identification to its source manuscript and associated with Toros Roslin, the pages could no longer remain family heirlooms. They were now great works of art, and museum objects. They were studied, admired, exhibited; their color photograph adorned the glossy pages of a fine catalog. Almost immediately they also became commodities on the art market.

Indeed, once it acquired its status as a fragment from the first signed creation of Armenia's greatest illuminator, the Canon Tables acquired value on the art market. In the twentieth and twenty-first century art world, the scholarly work of museum curators and academic art historians inevitably impacts the art market. Exhibitions, however scholarly, can have the unintended—or in some cases intended—effect of increasing an art object's prestige, its art historical importance, and fame, which in turn influences the market value of not only the object itself but potentially entire categories of similar art objects.

Shortly after "Treasures in Heaven" concluded, the Getty Museum purchased the Canon Tables from Gil Atamian in a private sale.[74] The amount paid only became known later: $950,000.[75] This was the only time an artwork signed by Roslin was sold in a documented transaction since Henry Walters purchased the Sivas Gospels between the world wars.[76] If eight folios were sold for almost a million dollars, one can only speculate as to the price an integral manuscript might fetch. Yet that is unlikely to happen. Roslin's total output as an artist is finite. The seven manuscripts signed by him and the three manuscripts or fragments attributed to him are all in museum or monastic collections, unlikely to be deaccessioned and sold. Barring the improbable event of a previously unknown signed work by Roslin being discovered, the sale of the Canon Tables to the Getty marked the last time a work by Roslin would come on the market.

Armenian manuscripts became an area of interest for the J. Paul Getty Museum in the 1980s. The Getty Museum initially collected in the areas of Greek and Roman antiquities, European pictures, and French decorative arts. Later, the museum gradually expanded into new areas, such as the history of photography. The medieval period constituted a glaring lacuna in the museum's overview of European painting. When the collection of Peter and Irene Ludwig, which many considered the last great privately held collection of

medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, became available in 1983, the Getty purchased it in full. In a single transaction, the Getty became a great museum of medieval book arts. The highly respected Ludwig collection consisted of 144 illuminated books, covering over one thousand years of book production primarily in Europe.[77] While the Ludwig collection's strength was in Northern Renaissance manuscripts, it also included Byzantine, Armenian, and Islamic books.

The Getty loaned three of its Armenian manuscripts from the Ludwig collection to the Treasures in Heaven exhibition.[78] These objects became the kernel of the Getty's interest in Armenian manuscripts as an area for research and collection. Major museums collect to fill voids in their coverage of selected areas, and they seek to present entire traditions through interrelated pieces. The Ludwig manuscripts represented Armenian book production in Van and in Isfahan; consequently, the Getty became interested in Cilician painting, to give the collection a broader artistic context and to show continuity. Moreover, Getty officials at the time aimed to make their museum a "collection of masterpieces," prompting them to collect works of art of the highest possible quality.[79] It was this curatorial logic that prompted the Getty's purchase of the Zeytun Gospels fragment. Roslin's pages constituted a recognized masterpiece. They not only added depth and quality to the museum's Armenian collection but also provided greater context and comparison to its growing collection of manuscripts in European and Eastern Christian traditions, including Byzantine and Coptic.

. . .

By the closing years of the twentieth century, the mother manuscript and the fragment of the Zeytun Gospels had both become works of art, far away from the Church of the Holy Mother of God in the mountains of Cilicia. They were conserved in secular museums, the Matenadaran and the Getty. As different as these two institutions were, one from the other, they treated the manuscripts in their

care with similar professional standards, albeit with vastly different budgets. They conserved, curated, and studied them, they exhibited them, and they integrated them into broader collections and art histories.

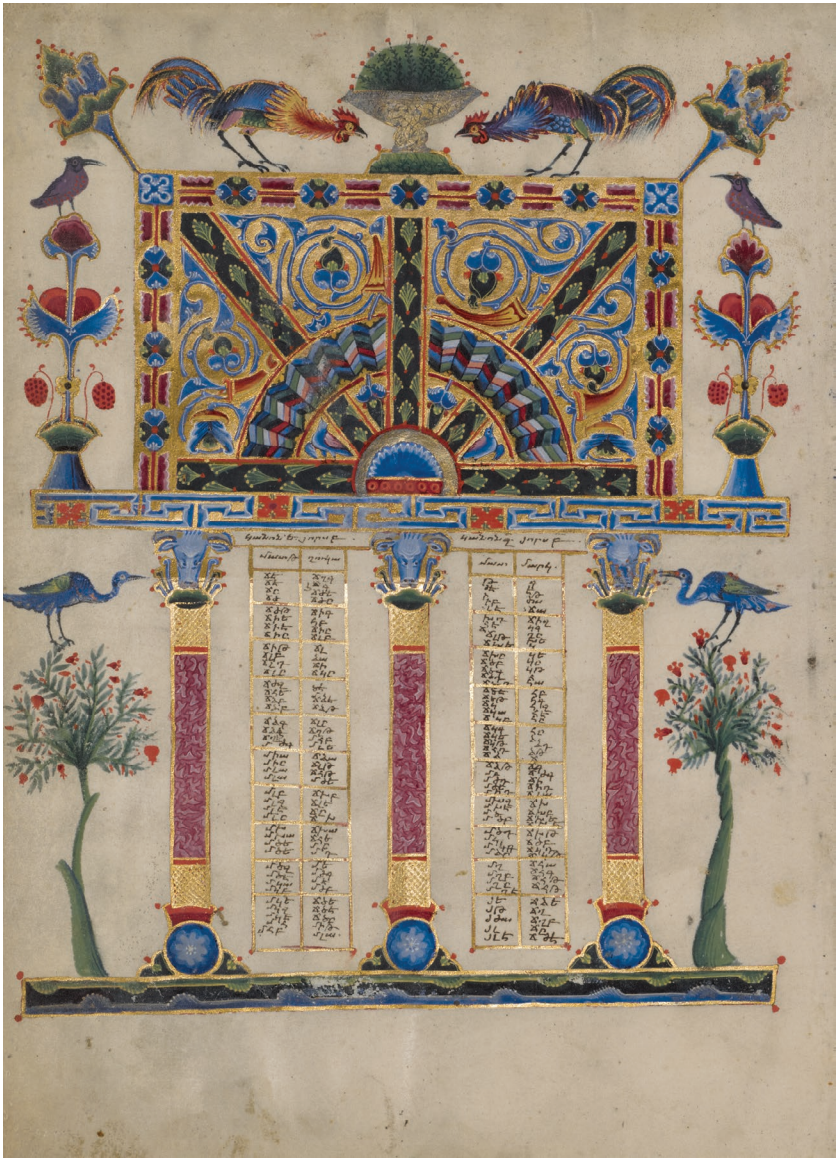
The entrance of Roslin's first signed manuscript into museums corresponded with the artist's integration into the history of art and into Armenian history. Art historical books and pamphlets, as well as exhibitions with all the events that come with them—openings, celebrations, lectures, symposia, even postcards—instructed the wider public on the beauty and value of manuscript illumination. Art history also brought out the figure of Toros Roslin from the dust of medieval colophons. Toros Roslin the artist caught the imagination of scholars, poets, artists, and the public. They interpreted and reinterpreted him. He embodied the creative spirit of the Cilician Kingdom. His originality and innovation were matched by his loyalty to tradition and to Armenian theology. He represented the glory of medieval Armenia, adopting ideas from Europe and translating them to his own idiom. He was a meeting point of East and West. He was a maker of the Armenian nation.

Throughout, he remained elusive, simply "Toros, surnamed Roslin, after my forebears."

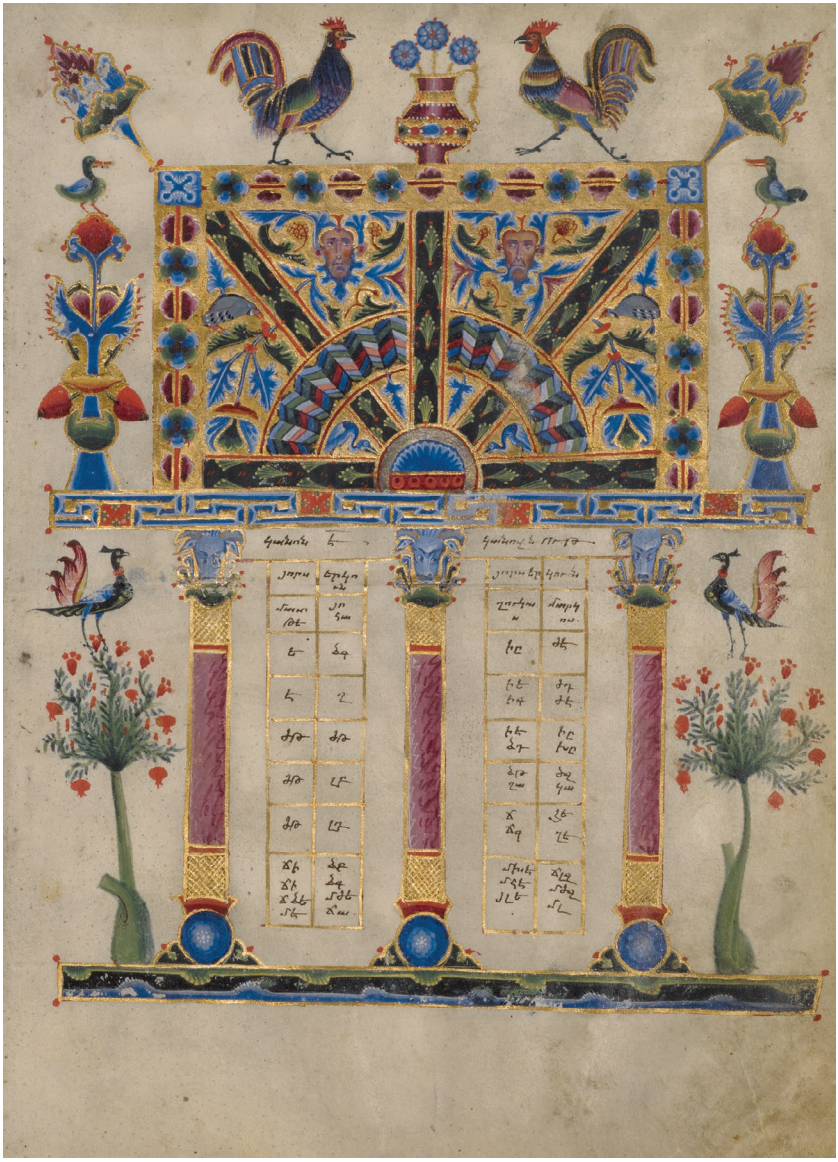
Binding of the Zeytun Gospels. The seventeenth-century binding incorporates the crucifix and round medallions from the original book cover. Matenadaran, Ms. 10450. Photograph: Matenadaran.

The first matching set. Toros Roslin, Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, 1256, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 59, fol. 1v and fol. 2r. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

The second matching set. Toros Roslin, Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, 1256, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 59, fol. 3v and fol. 4r. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



The third matching set. Toros Roslin, Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, 1256, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 59, fol. 5v and fol. 6r. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.



The fourth matching set. Toros Roslin, Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, 1256, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 59, fol. 7v and fol. 8r. Digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program.

Toros Roslin's Zeytun Gospels on display. The beginning of the Gospel of Luke. Matenadaran Ms. 10450, fols. 194v–195r. Photograph: Author, 2012.

Toros Roslin, a bifolium from the Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels. The horizontal crease across the two pages was likely caused around the time the Canon Tables was removed from the Zeytun Gospels. J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. 59, fols. 3v–6r. Photograph: J. Paul Getty Museum.

Matthew the Evangelist. Matthew ponders, one hand to his chin and another holding a pen, an open book before him. The tools of the writer's trade are strewn nearby. Toros Roslin, Zeytun Gospels, 1256, Matenadaran Ms. 10450, fol. 7v. Photograph: Matenadaran.

An Annunciation in the margin. An angel speaks across a column of text to Mary, whose figure doubles as an initial letter. Toros Roslin, Zeytun Gospels, 1256, Matenadaran Ms. 10450, fol. 198v. Photograph: Matenadaran.

Minas Avetisyan, *The Birth of Toros Roslin*, 1973. Mural in the Court of Criminal Appeals, Yerevan, Armenia. An example of the Soviet-era rediscovery of Roslin. Photograph: Lusine Sargsyan, 2018. Reproduced with permission from the court and from Narek Avetisyan.

Canonization Ceremony of the Martyrs of the Armenian Genocide at Echmiadzin, April 23, 2015. The holiest relics of the church are displayed on the stage. The Zeytun Gospels is at the very center, in front of Karekin II, the Catholicos of All Armenians. Photograph: Brendan Hoffman.

Chapter 8

LOS ANGELES

The Contest over Art

• LOS ANGELES. A CONFERENCE ROOM. 2014.

A grueling day of negotiation was winding down. Attorneys, paralegals, researchers, and assistants had haggled over details, checking things on their laptops, leafing through files, raising questions, deflecting inquiries, redirecting requests, skirting issues, reframing problems, proposing ideas, turning over every possibility, thinking up various permutations for solutions. The applicable laws were complex enough without everything else they had to juggle: the specifics of the Canon Tables case, other cases that hinged on similar issues, the implications and precedent any resolution would entail, but more broadly, the weight of history, the pressure of public opinion, and further, the ticking clock of billable hours and the relentless drive to succeed. They all had an interest in finding a resolution but also a duty to vigorously serve the interests of their clients. The Getty's attorneys worked to ensure that the artwork remain with the museum, and highlighted any weaknesses or ambiguities they could find in the opponent's arguments. The lawyers for the church held firm in demanding remedies for property stolen from Armenian Genocide victims. Amid all the rational thinking, the intricate legal maneuvers, the creative uses of law and statutes, there also lurked intense emotions: anger, hurt, hope, pride, ambition, compassion, and resentment. As the day wound down, the attorneys collected their things and left for the dreaded drive home, maybe swinging by the office for a late strategy session. At the Getty Museum, a forgotten napkin flew around the deserted grounds. In a climate-controlled storage locker the Canon Tables waited without sleep.

. . .

In the twentieth century the Zeytun Gospels, in whole and in part, intersected with key moments and figures of Armenian history. The manuscript morphed from a liturgical object, to an object of memory and a monument of national history, to a work of art. In the twenty-first century, the Gospels acquired yet another function in the movement for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide and for reparations. Its story became entwined with that of the Armenian community of California.

In June 2010 the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America filed a lawsuit in Los Angeles against the J. Paul Getty Museum, seeking the return of the Canon Pages of the Zeytun Gospels, which it maintained had been stolen during the Armenian Genocide. The church now demanded the return of the pages as well as millions of dollars in damages. A dramatic suit, filed against the city's most prominent cultural institution, thrust the medieval pages into the public eye. Five years later, following litigation and intense behind-the-scenes negotiation, the church and the museum reached a settlement.

Neither the timing of the lawsuit nor its location was accidental. The suit was filed in one of the most self-confident Armenian communities in the world, in a city that has emerged as a center of civil litigation of acts committed during genocides and atrocities. With this lawsuit, one of the last vestiges of a forgotten Anatolian mountain town connected with contemporary American law, cultural activism, the art market, and museum politics, evidencing the continued relevance and urgency of cultural heritage.

ARMENIAN LOS ANGELES

Since 1994 the Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels resided at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. There the pages took turns rotating within the secure art storage lockers and the galleries, where exhibitions put the pages from Zeytun in conversation with manu-

scripts and fragments from eastern and western Europe, the Islamic world, and East Africa.

The terrace of the Getty campus in West Los Angeles affords expansive views of the immense city spreading along the Pacific shore, crisscrossed by endless freeways. A city celebrated for its multicultural human landscape nevertheless also conceals a long history of inequality, exploitation, discrimination, and intercommunal violence. This storied city sells the fantasy of reinvention and novelty, but it is also the "big nowhere," a dystopian space of disappointment, failure, and exploitation.[1] Despite the ubiquitous presence of the popular culture industry and its products of fantasy and celebrity, Los Angeles is also home to wealthy institutions that carry out some of the most academic and rigorous art research and conservation in the world. Here one of the last vestiges of Armenian culture in exile and contemporary American legal practice entwined.

California is home to the third-largest Armenian community in the world, with an estimated half a million Americans of Armenian origin. The first and second concentrations of Armenians are in the Republic of Armenia and the Russian Federation. Today's Armenian community in California has resulted from over one hundred years of immigration in distinct waves.[2] It is anything but monolithic. Armenians began to arrive to Central Valley towns like Fresno in the late nineteenth century. A century later, distinct immigration patterns shaped the powerful community in Glendale, a suburb of Los Angeles. The community is so ubiquitous that it has been featured in TV police procedurals, such as *The Shield* or *Ray Donovan*, in rather stereotypical depictions that reveal little of its diversity. Perhaps more than anywhere else, the California Armenian community is a microcosm of the global Armenian diaspora. Transplants from Armenia, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Russia, and Bulgaria throng community picnics and argue not only in Eastern and Western Armenian but also in Arabic, Rumanian, Russian, and Turkish. In a typical church

hall, there will be the attorney from a family generations removed from immigration, whose ancestors may have planted vineyards of raisin grapes in the Central Valley, who speaks no Armenian and is fully assimilated into mainstream American society. Think Kirk Kerkorian, George Deukmejian, or Kim Kardashian. There will be the Lebanese-born homemaker, fiercely devoted to her children's education and a pillar of the Armenian Relief Society, who speaks four languages, raises funds for the school, and knows how to make the best *choereg*. There will be the young man from Armenia, full of swagger in a dark suit, smoking a cigarette at the church door. There will be the cosmopolitan, sophisticated engineer from Iran, a virtuoso pianist in his spare time and a great conversationalist late into the night. There will be the recent transplant from Aleppo, from the latest community to experience the heartbreak of being forced from home by war, and to face the daunting challenges of making their lives anew. There will be small business owners and real estate agents. There will be students and scientists. There will be heart surgeons and grocers of ethnic foods. There will be gang members and lawyers, accountants and teachers, members of the Russian Armenian mafia as well as judges, policemen, and veterans. There will be those who waited for years to receive a visa to America. And there will be native-born citizens of the United States who have never left the country and never even obtained a passport—because eventually the world comes to California.

Armenian communal identity in the United States is steeped in genocide commemoration and activism for the recognition of the genocide. Armenians in the Los Angeles area have a very American sense of their hyphenated ethnic identity and the kinds of gestures that go with it, like the planned Armenian American Museum in Glendale. The church, ethnic food, and memories of lost Anatolian towns are among this heterogeneous community's bonds. Above all, however, the community rallies around the shared experience of the

genocide and its aftermath, its commemoration and the struggle for its official recognition. In April, when Genocide Memorial Day comes around, cars displaying not one, not two, but three Armenian flags cruise around East Hollywood and La Crescenta. Armenian Americans from every walk of life join politicians and celebrities to solemnly mark the anniversary of the genocide. Every year on April 24, tens of thousands march from Little Armenia in Hollywood to the Turkish Consulate on Wilshire Boulevard. Southern California is also home to permanent memorials to the Armenian Genocide. Most are located in community centers, schools, churches, or private places, while some occupy public spaces. Indeed, the earliest and most spacious Armenian Genocide memorial in the United States was erected in 1968 in Montebello.[3] In 2011 the monument received its own exit sign on the Pomona Freeway, cementing the Armenian Genocide's visual presence in the specific Los Angeles cityscape.[4] Most recently, Los Angeles County installed a permanent memorial in its civic center at Grant Park, conceived by the artistic collective iWitness Project.[5] A mural in Little Armenia depicts a lacerated arm clutching a rosary, with the slogan "Our Wounds Are Still Open (1915)."

Community movements that have long called for official acknowledgment of the genocide are not monolithic either, and debates continue regarding the pitfalls of anchoring communal identity on the memory of trauma.[6] Likewise, the calls for justice for the genocide have a long lineage. Community organizations, individuals, and experts have weighed in on what reparations should mean in the Armenian case, what they should entail, and how they can be attained. No Turkish state entity has participated in these debates, as Turkey remains steadfast in its denial of the Armenian Genocide. While they have not led to direct action or implementation, these debates nevertheless indicate the way in which the Armenian community and others continue to engage with the genocide and its long-term effects. The Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group has taken

the most comprehensive and multidisciplinary approach, considering among other issues the moral and ethical imperatives for reparations, legal frameworks, and distinctions between reparations to individuals and reparations to the Armenian nation as a whole, including possible mechanisms and recipients of restitution. The group emphasizes the imperative to craft a model of reparations that is transformative and forward-looking.[7]

The vocabulary of reparations had certainly entered popular culture by the late 1990s, as evidenced by "P.L.U.C.K.," a 1998 hit song about the genocide by the metal band System of a Down, made up of four Armenian American artists from Southern California. The song names and reiterates these notions:

> Recognition, Restoration, Reparation,
> Recognition, Restoration, Reparation,
> Watch them all fall down.[8]

Nevertheless, only recently did a wave of litigation related to the Armenian Genocide convert the calls for reparation into legal action—with great legal, symbolic, and monetary repercussions.

THE HOLOCAUST RESTITUTION MOVEMENT AS A MODEL

Armenian Genocide litigation took inspiration from and modeled itself after the success of the recent phase of the Holocaust restitution movement. Vartkes Yeghiayan, the first attorney to file an Armenian Genocide restitution lawsuit in the United States, said it explicitly: "Holocaust victims' heirs 'showed me the way.'"[9]

The effort to secure restitution for the Holocaust has a long and variegated history. In the aftermath of World War II, as the full extent of the Holocaust and other Nazi war crimes became gradually known, the victorious allies shouldered the responsibility of caring for survivors, negotiating a new political order, and dispensing justice for wartime offenses. Among these crimes was the dispossession of

civilian victims of Nazi persecution. The taking of the victims' property constituted a component of the crime of genocide, as it deprived them of the means to survive, thereby helping ensure the destruction of the targeted group.[10] This in turn prompted the long and fraught process of recovering and identifying wealth and other assets unlawfully acquired by the Nazis from Jews and other groups throughout Europe, and of returning stolen assets to their rightful owners or heirs. Following Nazi Germany's surrender, international agreements for reparations were executed that involved states like West Germany and Israel, and also between West Germany and Jewish groups representing Holocaust survivors. Important as they were, these reparations eventually proved to be uneven and incomplete. Fifty years after the war's end, a wave of reparation litigation gained momentum.[11] The locus of this movement was not Europe, where the Holocaust took place, but rather the United States. Its tool was civil litigation. The American judicial system allowed claimants to seek redress for material losses resulting from crimes against humanity. This litigation did not address other kinds of losses like murder, injury, or rape. It thus sought to achieve a "measure of justice" for the massive theft of wealth that was part and parcel of the Holocaust. Indeed, by the 1990s the American courts constituted the only forum for the pursuit of Holocaust claims after the lapse of so many years.[12]

Holocaust litigation in the United States seized upon American judicial procedures not available in other legal systems, such as civil litigation and class action lawsuits, where one person may represent a putative class of clients. In a series of high-profile cases, the movement sued corporations that had, in one way or another, colluded in or profited from the massive Nazi theft of Jewish wealth. Thus lawyers sued Swiss banks that had withheld assets deposited by Jews during the Nazi period or had traded in assets, including gold, looted from Holocaust victims. Other cases addressed Holocaust-era slave labor, unpaid insurance claims, and confiscated property. Some cases were settled for significant sums, though many were unsuccessful.

The Holocaust litigation of the 1990s benefited from the convergence of legal action with political processes and the activism of nongovernmental organizations. It concerned well-known historical crimes—indeed, only the marginal few deny the Holocaust—and capitalized upon the revulsion that Nazi crimes inspire. Newspapers reported the legal battles, capturing the imagination of a public that rooted for the underdogs, namely the sympathetic Holocaust survivors or heirs who sought to obtain, years later, a measure of justice for the enormous crimes of the Holocaust, from which greedy corporations seemingly continued to profit. Jewish community leaders lent support to the movement and mobilized the backing of influential politicians. The legal battles called attention to unresolved issues and poignant stories that made their way from the courtroom to the court of public opinion. Accordingly, the entities sued, such as Swiss banks, soon found that they had a public relations problem to solve as well as legal challenges to confront. The pressure often spurred negotiation and settlement. As a prominent law professor and a lead counsel in Holocaust litigation put it, "The Holocaust litigation was an untidy mixture of law, politics, and raw emotion."[13]

In the judicial sphere, this litigation established new legal precedents as it overcame obstacles around questions of jurisdiction, statutes of limitations, and interpretations of the principle of sovereign immunity of foreign states.[14] The movement scored important successes, including before the Supreme Court and dramatic victories in favor of plaintiffs. Yet the movement registered its share of setbacks and failures as well.[15]

The Holocaust litigation of the 1990s extended to efforts to seek the return of works of art and cultural objects, sometimes of tremendous value, to their rightful heirs.[16] Litigation over Holocaust-looted art can be pursued in the United States because the law holds that a thief cannot transfer title, even when the buyer of the allegedly stolen property acted in good faith.[17] In other legal jurisdictions, as in Europe, a good-faith buyer enjoys some protections. Among

the litigated cases of Holocaust-looted art, *Altmann v. Republic of Austria* stands as the most successful. It included a successful argument before the Supreme Court and resulted in the restitution of stunning paintings by Gustav Klimt to the heir of Holocaust survivors. Yet it was also exceptional: most similar cases experienced setbacks, delays, or outright failures.

The implications of this legal movement ranged far beyond Holocaust heirs. Survivors and heirs of other instances of genocide, mass theft, slave labor, or atrocity sought to build upon the legal precedents to obtain redress for the crimes they had suffered. They met mostly with failure, prompting one observer to declare the Holocaust-era cases "a legal cul-de-sac."[18] Myriad issues help explain why Holocaust-era suits met with success while failure transpired in suits to redress other wrongs—for Germany's genocide of the Herero, for South Africans under apartheid, for the slave laborers exploited by Japan during World War II, or the enslavement of African Americans in the United States. All of these historical wrongs have moral weight and deserve recognition and reparation. Yet the plaintiffs were unable to mobilize sufficient political support outside the courtroom and to leverage it to force settlements.[19]

By contrast, Armenian Genocide litigation scored some successes. As attorney Yeghiayan indicated, Armenian Genocide-era litigation effectively followed the playbook of Holocaust litigation. It all began in the late 1990s when Yeghiayan built a case for about 2,400 unpaid insurance claims against New York Life Insurance Company. Prominent Los Angeles attorney Mark Geragos soon joined Yeghiayan, along with others who had experience with Holocaust and insurance cases.[20] After protracted legal motions and negotiations, New York Life settled in 2004 for around twenty million dollars, in addition to three million dollars earmarked for Armenian religious and charitable organizations.[21] The class action lawsuit *Marootian v. New York Life*, widely covered in the media, was hailed with great emotion as a victory for justice in the Armenian American community. The success

of this case prompted others. A class action suit against a French insurance company regarding Armenian Genocide-era unpaid insurance claims was settled in 2005 for $17.5 million.[22] Then the tide seemed to turn. Subsequent suits against other insurance companies and European banks, with the aim of recovering assets the banks allegedly withheld from their Armenian depositors during the genocide, did not prevail.[23] Other lawsuits filed in U.S. courts took on the Republic of Turkey and state-owned banks, seeking compensation for real property taken during the Armenian Genocide, involving notably a large area of land near the city of Adana, Turkey. On this land stands the massive Incirlik Air Base, which is central to NATO operations throughout the Middle East and supports a U.S. Air Force station.[24] The suits are still ongoing.

These suits featured similarities to Holocaust litigation. They all focused on property or assets rather than other war crimes. Many of them were class action lawsuits. Thus far they all have concluded with settlements rather than trials, or they have failed on technical grounds. The targets chosen were similar to the defendants named in the Holocaust lawsuits: insurance companies and banks. In some cases the targets were the very same ones previously sued for Holocaust-era issues—as in the case of Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank.[25] These targets were "tangential actors," parties that profited from the events and effects of the genocide rather than being its main perpetrators.[26]

Similarly, the Armenian Genocide-era lawsuits had to contend with some of the same legal challenges as Holocaust suits. The Armenian Genocide had occurred decades before the Holocaust, exacerbating concerns about statutes of limitations and rendering many legal remedies time-barred. Gathering evidence at a remove of a century proved equally difficult. Ottoman-era archives in present-day Turkey are not easily accessible, especially regarding sensitive subjects like properties confiscated from Armenians. Archives of other states or corporate entities tend to be sparse, long destroyed, or difficult to access. Even obtaining United States government records proved

daunting, as Yeghiayan resorted to filing Freedom of Information Act claims. Another challenge involved finding clients around whom attorneys could build strong cases. True, there was no shortage of families afflicted with genocide-era losses and their long-term consequences. However, the lawyers needed to locate heirs of Armenian Genocide victims who not only had suffered documentable losses but were also in possession of the requisite paper trail for insurance claims or bank accounts. Families that had often suffered several episodes of forced relocation and expulsion rarely preserved unpaid insurance records for nearly a century. The attorneys also faced battles over jurisdiction and the issue of statutes of limitations. As in the Holocaust restitution movement, the lawyers sought the aid of legislation to remedy some of these issues. They benefited from a legislature generally friendly to the populous and well-organized California Armenian community, which mobilized to support the litigation movement. In 2001 the California Legislature enacted a statute that extended the limitations period for the insurance cases of heirs of Armenian Genocide victims. [27] This made California the best, and perhaps only, jurisdiction for litigating property crimes related to the Armenian Genocide.

The attorneys who took on these cases fascinated Californians, and especially California Armenians. In this small group of high-powered Los Angeles lawyers, some, like Yeghiayan, were longtime practitioners with deep ties to the community. Born in Ethiopia, Yeghiayan (1936–2017) pioneered Armenian Genocide litigation late in his career, partly because he had an abiding interest in history and had closely followed Holocaust litigation.[28] Brian Kabateck is a highly successful Los Angeles lawyer of Armenian descent.[29] The best known and most dramatic figure is Mark Geragos, one of the top criminal defense lawyers in the United States. The media call him a "celebrity lawyer" as he has defended famous clients such as the artists and public figures Michael Jackson, Chris Brown, Winona Ryder, and Susan McDougal. He is also a television personality and

best-selling author. In courtroom appearances, the dapper Geragos exudes confidence, with the rapid-fire speech of an experienced litigator. This descendant of Armenian Genocide survivors from Adana has had a deep engagement with the Armenian community in California, on occasion taking cases that are neither media-friendly nor lucrative.[30]

Attorneys experienced in Holocaust litigation have also participated in Armenian Genocide restitution cases; for example, Michael Bazyler, a professor of law and Holocaust and Genocide Studies scholar at the Fowler School of Law at Chapman University, who has published widely on Holocaust litigation. One of the few women litigators is the former law professor Lee Crawford Boyd.[31] In courtroom appearances, she is precise in her parsing of issues of jurisdiction and thoroughly in command of the facts and the judicial intricacies of the cases. With such personalities, the courtroom can sometimes become a form of theater where rhetorical flourish and quick-witted repartee accompany the parsing of minute points of law. Courtroom sessions in California are available as podcasts and have become popular among attorneys, law students, and even the public.

The success of the cases against the insurance companies contributed to the public recognition of the Armenian Genocide, and the settlement funds helped support the study of genocide. The payouts from the settlements benefited not only the plaintiffs in the class action suits but community institutions and charities as well. In addition, the payouts contributed to legal education: in 2008 the Armenian insurance settlement funds helped fund the Center for the Study of Law and Genocide at Loyola Law School in Los Angeles, the alma mater of Geragos and Kabateck, as well as many other Armenian American attorneys.[32] The community press chronicled the court cases and profiled the attorneys. Geragos and Kabateck made presentations about their cases at community centers and church halls filled to capacity.[33]

For the Armenian community, the significance of settlements far exceeded their monetary value. The success of the litigation was highly symbolic. The settlements constituted a public acknowledgment of the suffering of their ancestors, of the irreparable losses of the Armenian people as a whole. The settlement funds underscored the seriousness of the acknowledgment.[34]

Even further, the court cases constituted the *only* kind of formal justice for the crime of genocide that any Armenian was likely to see. By contrast Germany has acknowledged its guilt in the Holocaust, apologized, paid reparations, and made the Holocaust and genocide prevention a cornerstone of its contemporary identity. In addition, the Holocaust is a widely acknowledged fact of history, which is commemorated publicly in the United States, and whose memory is enshrined in institutions like the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. Meanwhile, Turkey, the successor state of the perpetrators of the Armenian Genocide, continues to proactively deny the genocide as a state policy. An entire diplomacy of genocide denial and international pressure ensures that Turkish diplomats or supporters contest any public commemoration or mention of the Armenian Genocide. The Armenian restitution movement proceeds in the shadow of this denial.

This has many implications. The Turkish state and its infrastructure of denial hover over the legal proceedings. They persistently cast doubt about the historical events. They labor to make it appear controversial to use the term *genocide* to describe these events. The context of denial means that the Armenian Genocide restitution movement bears an additional burden, one that constitutes a form of activism for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide above and beyond the movement's goal of seeking justice for victims and their heirs. One of the achievements of the litigation, indeed, has been to make public the fact of the Armenian Genocide, to call attention to it and its historical occurrence and unresolved issues. The attorneys realized acutely the responsibility they shouldered. As Yeghiayan

articulated, the litigation moved Armenian Genocide activism to a new sphere, "beyond liturgy and lamentation to litigation."[35]

Around 2013, however, litigation over Armenian Genocide-era restitution began to stall. Suits ended in dismissal.[36] Politics intruded again, this time to the detriment of Armenian plaintiffs. Turkey took active steps to undermine the Armenian plaintiffs' claims. Despite the fact that the Republic of Turkey was not a named party in the insurance lawsuits, it filed an amicus brief with the court that supported the insurance companies against the genocide survivors' heirs, and argued that the case harmed the foreign relations of Turkey and the United States.[37] In addition, Turkey's representatives lobbied behind the scenes at the highest levels of government in Washington to influence the legal proceedings.[38] American politicians, wary of endangering the U.S. relationship with their NATO ally Turkey, consistently shied away from adopting the locution "Armenian Genocide" and urged the courts to do the same through amicus briefs of their own.[39] Judges became reluctant to endorse the term "Armenian Genocide" for fear of interfering in foreign affairs. One of the unintended effects of the Holocaust-era restitution cases had been to increase judges' deference to and compliance with political pressures. This cut both ways; now, with an absence of support from the political realm, the Armenian plaintiffs' leverage waned.[40] Here was the insidious power of genocide denial at work. The Turkish state was hounding heirs of genocide survivors all the way to California as they tried to get European insurance companies to make good on unpaid insurance claims. Many lawyers and supporters of the Armenian Genocide litigation movement came to feel that increasingly the deck was stacked against them.

WESTERN PRELACY V. GETTY

On June 1, 2010, attorney Vartkes Yeghiayan instituted a suit against the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles County Superior Court. His client was the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic

Church, acting on behalf of its mother church, the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, based in Antelias outside of Beirut. This was the first—and so far only—time a suit was filed for the restitution of cultural heritage looted as a result of the Armenian Genocide.[41]

In the complaint, the plaintiff asserted that Toros Roslin's Canon Tables is holy and belongs to the church. The Canon Tables was stolen and removed from the mother manuscript, the Zeytun Gospels, during the Armenian Genocide. The Getty "knew or should have known that the . . . pages were stolen," the complaint alleged. As a thief cannot transfer title lawfully, the Getty does not have title. The Getty either knew the pages were stolen or failed in its obligation to conduct due diligence to ensure they were not stolen. After pressing its claim with the Getty without satisfactory results, the church sued for the return of the pages as well as millions of dollars in damages and attorneys' fees.[42] The Getty retorted that it has title free and clear, that it owns the pages as works of art, and had acquired them legally. The Getty maintained that the pages have been in the United States for nearly ninety years with no one questioning their legal status, and that the suit should be dismissed.[43]

Unlike the insurance lawsuits, *Western Prelacy v. Getty* was not a class action suit. It focused on a single object, and it had a single plaintiff in the Armenian Church. Similar to previous litigation, however, the lawsuit did not target a perpetrator of the genocide. Rather, it alleged that the Getty had acquired an artwork stolen in the fog of genocide. The suit's target, the Getty Museum, was well chosen. It is high profile, has deep pockets, being the wealthiest art institution in the world, and it has faced and sometimes lost many claims for the recovery of artworks with dubious provenance.

The media loved to cover the Getty, especially its scandals. Jason Felch and Ralph Frammolino, who reported on the less savory aspects of the J. Paul Getty Trust's management and particularly its art acquisition practices for the *Los Angeles Times*, became finalists for the

Pulitzer Prize in Investigative Reporting in 2006.[44] As the Getty museum exists at the nexus of Los Angeles entertainment culture, the Zeytun Gospels case found an immediate echo in the news media, even the tabloid press.[45] It seemed the Getty was embroiled in yet another scandal where antiquities it proudly displayed turned out to be stolen and had to be returned. True, as a result of past instances of restitution, the Getty had instituted stricter acquisition policies and had been forthcoming about making available information on the provenance of objects in its collections. Yet in the public mind the Getty remained tainted by its previous actions and therefore vulnerable to new allegations. In addition, the Getty had bought the Canon Tables in 1994, during the era when the museum made some unscrupulous purchases, which have come back to haunt it since.[46]

When the case was first filed, rumors swirled in the Armenian community as to whether other possible plaintiffs affiliated with the Armenian Church could claim to have standing. The Western Prelacy acted on behalf of the catholicosate in filing the suit. The Prelate of Los Angeles, Archbishop Moushegh Mardirossian, recognizes as his ultimate hierarchical superior Catholicos Aram I Keshishian of the Great House of Cilicia, whose seat is Antelias in Lebanon. Aram I, a leading advocate for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide, has been proactive in wielding the weapon of international litigation in this regard.[47] Naturally the suit would not have proceeded without his approval or his direction. The supreme head of the Armenian Church is the Catholicos of All Armenians in Echmiadzin. Some observers wondered whether he ought to be the one pursuing a claim for the Canon Tables. In fact, the Catholicos of All Armenians, Karekin II Nersessian, met with the Western Prelacy's attorneys, blessed their endeavor, and clarified that he had no intention to participate in the suit.[48] Ultimately, then, the appropriateness of the Western Prelacy as the plaintiff went undisputed.

The Republic of Armenia was not a party to the suit either. Armenia is a small, newly independent nation that has not campaigned

internationally for the recovery of cultural artifacts lost during the genocide. Church attorneys met with relevant Armenian government figures to ensure that everyone was on the same page. The state institution where the mother manuscript of the Zeytun Gospels is housed, the Matenadaran, likewise was not a participant in the suit, even though scholars there expressed a wish to see the two fragments of the manuscript reunited.[49] The Matenadaran's director at the time, the late Hrachya Tamrazyan, wrote to the church attorneys that the effort to return the Canon Tables to its rightful owner was in the interest of the Matenadaran: "We have asked you to represent . . . the interest of the Republic of Armenia . . . including the Matenadaran, using your best efforts to obtain the return of these treasures . . . to their rightful owners."[50] Grigor Hovhannissian, the then-consul general of Armenia in Los Angeles, clarified that the Armenian government was taking "a wait and see position" on the dispute. He did note that the case generated a great deal of "emotion" in the former Soviet Republic, where it was widely reported and followed.[51]

In principle any of the entities referenced above could come forward in future cases involving Armenian cultural heritage. At present, however, it appears that the campaign for restitution of Armenian Genocide-era losses is a pursuit of the diaspora rather than the Armenian state. Clearly, the centrality of the genocide to Armenian identity in the diaspora plays a role. Indeed, the Zeytun Gospels dispute, like the other cases of Armenian Genocide-era litigation, is part of the new wave of activism for genocide recognition through the courts.[52]

CONTESTING PROVENANCE IN THE COURTROOM

The lawsuit hinged on the issue of rightful ownership, that is, of title. Was the Canon Tables stolen, or were the pages the rightful property of the Getty? If the pages were stolen at any time in the past, this would imply, given that a thief cannot transfer title in American law, that

the Getty had never lawfully obtained title in the first place. To verify good title, provenance and its interpretation became the evidence. The church and the Getty laid out the known facts about the Zeytun Gospels' provenance, highlighting some episodes over others and providing legal interpretations in the service of different arguments.

The plaintiff fired the opening salvo by narrating a provenance for the Canon Tables.[53] The church argued that it was the rightful owner of the Canon Tables. The deportations and crimes that characterized the Armenian Genocide constituted the historical context for the theft of the Canon Tables. The Zeytun Gospels left the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Zeytun when Asadur Surenian brought it with him in exile to Marash in late 1915; Dr. Harutiwn Der Ghazarian obtained the Gospels from Surenian before he too was further exiled in 1916, never to return; Dr. Der Ghazarian and his sisters lost the Gospels on the fateful night of the Battle of Marash in 1920; an unnamed Turkish man, picking up the Gospels, offered them to Melkon Atamian in Marash, who stole the Canon Tables from the manuscript then returned the manuscript to the Turk; the Turk gave the book, now missing the eight pages, to Father Khachadur Der Ghazarian in Marash; Father Khachadur entrusted the Gospels to American missionary James K. Lyman upon his final departure from Marash. In due course, the mother manuscript made its way to the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul, then the Republic of Armenia; while the Canon Tables arrived in the United States with the Atamians as stolen goods and were sold to the Getty in 1994.

The Getty's demurrer multiplied counterarguments.[54] The Zeytun Gospels was not the property of the church in the first place, but rather was privately owned by the Surenian family. The pages were not stolen, and thus the Getty had rightful title to them. In addition, the existence of the Canon Tables with the Atamians had been common knowledge for decades, including to leaders of the

church. This knowledge was public, as seen in then-Archbishop Karekin Hovsepian's 1943 article, in Sirarpie Der Nersessian's 1952 article in a church-owned publication, *Shoghagat*, and finally in the catalog of the Morgan Library exhibition of 1994. The Atamian family, the Getty maintained, had owned the Canon Tables openly, showing it to priests and even exploring the possibility of gifting it to the church. All this had taken place over decades, without the church questioning the status of the Canon Tables or asking for its return. Therefore, the Getty had indeed exercised due diligence at the time of purchase in 1994. Furthermore, since then, it published and exhibited the work openly and without challenge.

Both the prelacy and the Getty threw immense resources into the task of researching the all-important points in the work's provenance, as the lawsuit made research urgent. The attorneys mobilized every known document or fact in the complex history of the Zeytun Gospels to construct arguments in support of their respective clients' interests.[55] Nevertheless, ambiguities and contradictions remained. Some lacunae in the chronological movements of the Canon Tables and the mother manuscript persisted. For instance, neither side provided a satisfactory accounting of precisely when and where Archbishop Ardavazt Surmeyan examined the Zeytun Gospels as a complete book, including its Canon Tables, before penning his detailed description of 1936. This and other questions remain "perplexing."[56] As the Getty curator Elizabeth Morrison expressed it, it is difficult to "put a straight line" through all the known facts, much less through the rumors and family lore that continue to swirl around the Zeytun Gospels.[57]

Some as-yet undiscovered piece of evidence may one day elucidate the unresolved points in the trajectory of the manuscript and the fragment. Until then, however, "the provenance of the Gospel now is necessarily the subject of speculation, as the relevant events took place decades or centuries ago and first-hand witnesses have died."[58]

LITIGATION AND NEGOTIATION

The attorneys mobilized what was known about the artwork's provenance to make a claim of lawful title. But the case also depended on procedural matters, most importantly the statute of limitations. As with any dispute about the recovery of art stolen long ago, one of the areas of dispute was whether the suit was time barred.

At this point, the prelacy's case benefited from an unexpected gift from California lawmakers. The state legislature had a history of passing special statutes to support claims brought in California by plaintiffs resident in the state, such as heirs of survivors of the Holocaust or the Armenian Genocide.[59] Once incorporated into the California Code of Civil Procedure, such statutes could bolster plaintiffs' claims, but they could also be challenged in court, where they could be invalidated or deemed unconstitutional. Just a few months after the Zeytun Gospels suit was filed, the lawmakers signed into law a stolen art recovery statute in September 2010. The statute concerned the recovery of works of fine art from museums or dealers and was intended to allow lawsuits for the recovery of Nazi-looted art. It extended the time period in which stolen art claims could be filed, adopting a statute of limitations that begins from the time a plaintiff actually discovers the whereabouts of the stolen work.[60] The extension of the statutory limitations is crucial. The provenance of looted artworks, as in the case of the Zeytun Gospels, is often convoluted and requires time and expertise to disentangle. In addition, rightful owners of a looted artwork might not even be aware that the artwork still exists, perhaps lying dormant in private hands or in poorly documented museum collections.[61]

The attorneys for the prelacy amended the complaint to reflect their reliance on the new statute.[62] They indicated that the catholicosate had been unaware that the Canon Tables was at the Getty until 2006 when attorney Yeghiayan, on a visit to the Getty Museum, noticed the artwork on exhibition, became intrigued, researched it, and informed the catholicosate.[63] Asserting this chronology was impor-

tant; the catholicosate's discovery of the theft of the Canon Tables around 2006 placed the lawsuit within the statute of limitations.

The Getty's attorneys, of course, argued that the suit was time barred in their effort to get it dismissed.[64] They avowed that the plaintiff waited too long to bring the claim. They maintained that the church had numerous opportunities to learn of the existence of the Canon Tables and its separation from the Zeytun Gospels. They pointed to Hovsepian's 1943 publication, to Der Nersessian's 1952 article, and to the Morgan Library exhibition in 1994. From this point of view, "it's a little disingenuous for lawyers representing the Armenian church to argue both that the manuscript is one of its great historic treasures and, at the same time, that church officials did not even realize the canon tables were missing until 2006. . . . That's a convenient argument that allows the church's claim to fall within the statute of limitations."[65] Once again, attorneys combed the available evidence to pinpoint when the church could have known about the location of the Canon Tables, or when it should have known. This implied speculating about what someone knew or did not know sometime in the past. Attorneys for the church counterargued that none of these instances could have caused the catholicosate to have actual and unambiguous knowledge about the theft of the Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels.[66] They also pointed to broader historical trends, arguing that in the aftermath of the genocide, the church had been uprooted; it was in a weakened and divided state; it was burdened with the urgent needs of survivors and refugees and the establishment of safe havens and new communities outside of the Ottoman Empire. The task of finding works of art became secondary to ensuring the survival of the Armenian Apostolic flock.[67]

Attorneys, priests, journalists, and law students thronged the courtroom of Los Angeles Superior Court judge Abraham Khan for a hearing on November 3, 2011. The judge disagreed with the Getty's assertion that the claim should be dismissed. He was not swayed by the museum attorneys' arguments that the suit was time barred.

Instead, given the complex and emotionally fraught facts in the case, he ordered the parties to enter into mediation. The judge's decision made it clear that this case would not go away easily, that there was enough basis to proceed with negotiation or, failing that, litigation.[68]

When a judge orders mediation in a case, it is often understood that he or she is encouraging the parties to settle—or even pressuring them to do so. As ordered by the court, lawyers for the parties duly began the process. They put on a brave face, but mediation efforts were not going well.[69] The differential of power was stark. A midsized Los Angeles faith group was trying to claim a sacred object from the world's wealthiest art institution, with a $5.3 billion endowment and a $250 million annual budget. The Getty with its funds and resources could afford to stretch out the process, but how long could the church keep financing expensive legal work?

There were other shifts in the background. After a rough patch, the Getty changed leadership. Two respected museum professionals took its helm. They also happened to be vocal opponents of the restitution of looted antiquities: James Cuno became CEO of the Getty Trust, the parent organization to the museum, and Timothy Potts became director of the Getty Museum. Critics of Cuno's anti-repatriation views expressed dismay at his appointment.[70] Thus the most powerful voice against restitution was designated to lead the Getty at the height of the *Western Prelacy v. Getty* case. Cuno stated that he supported the Getty's strict acquisition policies: "I have argued against the laws, but I haven't broken the laws."[71] Nevertheless, in an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, Cuno reiterated his views against repatriation and evinced an inflexible stance on the Canon Tables, specifically: "We claim clear title . . . there's no case here."[72] In 2011 the Getty featured a bifolium of the Canon Tables in an exhibition on medieval Gospel illumination.[73] It was as if the church's claims never existed.

Meanwhile, California's Stolen Art Recovery Statute was making its own way through the courts. If it could pass muster without

being challenged, the statute could lend great support to the prelacy's claims. With so much hinging on the career of the Stolen Art Recovery Statute, the parties jointly requested, and the judge granted, a stay in the Zeytun Gospels case in October 2012. They agreed to await the results of another case that was further along and where the Stolen Art Recovery Statute was being contested.[74] In that case the California-based heirs were seeking the return of a valuable impressionist painting by Camille Pissarro that had been extorted from the family during the Holocaust and was now in the possession of a state-run art collection in Spain.[75]

About a year later, in December 2013, a ruling in that case affirmed that the Stolen Art Recovery Statute would stand up in court.[76] Arriving at a point when other ongoing Armenian Genocide-era cases were stumbling over procedural obstacles, this news boosted the Armenian Church's position and took away some of the Getty's legal ammunition. In February 2014 the judge lifted the stay in *Western Prelacy v. Getty*. Attorneys set to work on discovery and other legal proceedings.[77] Public statements from the parties reaffirmed their positions. The church spokesperson wrote: "The Armenian people have finally realized that only they can initiate action to stop the final destruction of the remnants of the Armenian culture . . . the lawsuit will soon determine if Getty will stand to answer for its dishonesty in the court of public opinion or a court of law."[78] As for Getty CEO James Cuno, he reiterated his stance against repatriation, updating it in light of current events.[79]

The judge scheduled the trial to begin on November 3, 2015.[80]

SETTLEMENT

Weeks before the trial date, in September 2015, the parties announced that they had reached an amicable agreement.[81] The Getty Museum acknowledged the church's "historical ownership" of the Canon Tables; in turn, the church acknowledged the Getty's "decades-long stewardship" of the Canon Tables and agreed to donate

the pages to the Getty "to ensure their preservation and widespread exhibition."[82] Accordingly, the Getty officially changed the artwork's provenance. The Canon Tables' attribution now reads, "Gift of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia." The full settlement is confidential, and some of the legal materials in the case are likewise sealed. The Getty reportedly paid the attorneys' fees.[83] While the amount is undisclosed, it is safe to speculate that five years of litigation by prominent attorneys in Los Angeles are bound to cost a substantial sum.

The negotiations leading to the settlement were extremely complex and difficult. Both parties made concessions, and both parties scored successes. The settlement announcement carefully balanced the issues of "ownership" and "stewardship," crucial concepts in the broader debate about repatriation. The fact that the Getty changed the Canon Tables' provenance is hardly a small matter; it indicates recognition that the Canon Tables had belonged to the church all along. Though not stated explicitly, that implies that the Getty's previous representations about the ownership of the pages were inaccurate. The church agreed to donate the Canon Tables to the Getty. But the donation would occur in 2016; therefore, in 2015, the highly symbolic year of the centennial of the Armenian Genocide, the church would have ownership of the holy pages, even if they remained in the Getty's custody.[84] By agreeing to donate the Canon Tables to the Getty, the church seemed to acknowledge, though not explicitly, that nagging questions about the provenance and procedural challenges would have probably made further litigation long and unpredictable.

What was at stake for the attorneys for the church were the larger goals of genocide recognition and justice for the victims and survivors. They aimed to set the historical record straight about the church's ownership of the Canon Tables, as well as demonstrate that the holy pages were taken during the genocide. To them the case proved the depth of "unfinished legal business" for heirs of Armenian survivors

or institutions whose property was stolen or confiscated during the genocide. For Lee Crawford Boyd, the lawsuit constituted a form of commemoration of the genocide and a way to achieve some form of restorative justice.[85]

In addition to convoluted legal issues, the process of litigation and negotiation was rife with emotions—stress, anxiety, and hurt feelings. Litigation can be bruising and rancorous. Negotiation stretched over agonizing months. Getty director Timothy Potts described it as "a lot of handwringing and trying to do the right thing by all parties."[86] Attorney Lee Crawford Boyd likened the process to "threading the needle."[87]

The public scrutiny of the process must have weighed on the negotiations as well. The Los Angeles press covered the dispute frequently. For the Getty, the weight of its past remained inescapable, with the lingering effects of the bad publicity that accompanied previous disputes over artworks in its collection. Nevertheless, the Canon Tables case was not the last time the Getty faced issues related to acquiring works with a traumatic past. In June 2017 it returned an ancient statue of the Greek god Zeus to its source country, Italy.[88]

Many hope the settlement in the Zeytun Gospels case will open a new period of cooperation and mutual respect between the Getty, the Armenian Church, and the community. The archbishop on occasion visits the Canon Tables. In November 2015 the Getty hosted a reception in honor of the settlement; Archbishop Mardirossian pronounced a moving prayer before the framed Canon Tables, brought out for the occasion. Community leaders, attorneys, and priests attended. This might translate into artistic collaborations between the Getty's many institutional divisions and Armenian art and culture writ large.

The settlement resonated far beyond Los Angeles. The art press hailed it as an important precedent in disputes between museums and religious communities.[89] The settlement, along with decisions in

other cases, also seemed to vindicate California's Stolen Art Recovery Statute. The statute's judicious phrasing, which avoids naming any specific victim group, affords it wide applicability for the victims of a number of historic wrongs. Further, the statute's success signals to museums and the art market that they may face claims for the return of stolen artworks long after they have acquired them.[90] A measure of the statute's wide-ranging impact is that it served as the model for a new federal law: the Holocaust Expropriated Art Recovery Act of 2016.[91]

Whether the Canon Tables case will prompt further claims for the recovery of art looted during the Armenian Genocide remains to be seen. Attorneys certainly view it in that way.[92] In such cases the payoff can be enormous and highly symbolic, but failure is always a looming possibility. In each case they will have to face the same challenges: to find the right plaintiff, to research events shrouded in time, to battle jurisdictions and statutes of limitations. Michael Bazyler has highlighted the critical work of independent groups such as the Holocaust Art Restitution Project that document Jewish cultural property losses and can lend assistance and expertise in locating and studying looted artworks.[93] Thus far, no similar project exists to document the cultural destruction brought about by the Armenian Genocide. It would be a daunting task. One recalls Catholicos Karekin Hovsepian's unrealized vision of a comprehensive history of Armenian art, which despite the great scholar-priest's monumental labor was hampered by the long-term effects of the genocide that destroyed the culture of Ottoman Armenians: "The fate of ruins, the fate of ancient manuscripts."[94]

ECHOES WITHIN THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY

The settlement reverberated within the Armenian community, taking place as it did in 2015, the highly symbolic year of the centennial of the Armenian Genocide. Armenians worldwide commemorated

the centennial with great solemnity. While secular leaders predominated in the organization of the commemoration, some of the most poignant and spectacular commemorative events involved the Armenian Church. In the largest canonization ceremony in the world, held at Holy Echmiadzin on April 23, 2015, church leaders declared all the martyrs of the genocide saints of the Armenian Church. Given how rarely the church grants sainthood, this was a historic and momentous event. It reiterated the centrality of the church in Armenian life. It also indicated the growing influence of the church within the Republic of Armenia, a far cry from its muted presence under Soviet rule. Clerics mobilized the full pomp and ceremony of the 1,700-year-old church, complete with haunting hymns and the ringing of ancient liturgical instruments (*ripidion*), burning incense, the deployment of multicolored banners adorned with sacred images, and priests in resplendent regalia. They also brought out the church's fourteen most sacred and oldest relics to bless and witness the ceremony.[95] The Zeytun Gospels was included, the only manuscript so honored, alongside the Holy Lance that pierced the side of Jesus on the Cross, the Relic of the True Cross, and the Right Hand of Saint Gregory the Illuminator, founder of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Also present was the Reliquary of Skevra, a container of ancient relics that Cilician jewelers had reshaped to mourn and commemorate the fall of Hromkla. Emerging from its storage cabinet at the Matenadaran, the Zeytun Gospels participated in a procession and witnessed the canonization ceremony. The manuscript assumed its original sacred function, albeit for a day. Its missing pages, of course, remained in Los Angeles.

Given the enormous importance of 2015 as the year of the centennial commemoration of the genocide, it was perhaps surprising that the Armenian community's reaction to the settlement in the first cultural heritage lawsuit over the Armenian Genocide was muted. Perhaps people were overcome by "commemoration fatigue" by the time news of the settlement came at the end of the year. Perhaps the

settlement did not capture their imagination as much as the struggle had. Like the scholars at the Matenadaran, perhaps too many had assumed, or hoped, that only the physical reunification of the fragment and the mother manuscript would constitute an Armenian victory in this case. Attorney Yeghiayan had painted a sympathetic portrait of the suit as a quest to reunite family members sundered by the genocide: "What we are doing is reuniting the orphans with their family."[96] While the lawsuit over the holy pages had tremendous support within the Armenian community, it was by no means unanimous.[97] By contrast, the success of the insurance cases had yielded cash payments to heirs of the victims as well as to community institutions. That was concrete, quantifiable, understandable. In this case, however, a victory that consisted in changing a provenance was perhaps less tangible, less easily comprehensible.

An opinion piece in the popular Los Angeles Armenian-language newspaper *Asbarez* critiqued the Zeytun Gospels settlement and untangled some of these intertwined thoughts and feelings.[98] Vatche Proodian's article is consistent with the biting criticism of Armenian public life and politics for which his column is known.[99]

Proodian's response to the settlement was bitter disapproval. To him juridical determinations were irrelevant. He declared that the Canon Tables constitutes the patrimony of the Armenian people, and its proper place should be in the Matenadaran with the mother manuscript: "Who gave the [prelacy] the right to 'donate' a piece of the wealth that belongs to the Armenian people, even if the 'gift' is being received by a world-famous museum?" He linked what he considered the prelacy's relinquishment of Armenian patrimony to other instances where in his view the government of the Republic of Armenia failed to preserve and appreciate historical sites.[100] He concluded that the only ones to benefit were attorneys, "who returned to their offices after [pocketing] neat sums."

Proodian's view may reflect a broader sense of dissatisfaction in the community. The stereotype of the greedy, high-priced lawyer he

evokes is a familiar one, especially in Los Angeles. Critics of the Holocaust restitution movement also raised this issue.[101] Undoubtedly, in addition to the historical, legal, and ethical arguments, the looted-art restitution cases can also be motivated by the enormous sums that some recovered art masterpieces, like Klimt's paintings, may fetch when sold. Attorneys who take cases on contingency certainly benefit from such payouts. Yet such successes are hardly the norm. Genocide-era litigation in the United States is only possible because of the American system of litigation, which is entrepreneurial, and it can be lucrative. But lawyers are also taking a risk, as many cases continue for years, require long hours of legal work and expensive research and court costs, and sometimes end in utter failure.

The article also questioned how the settlement constituted a form of restitution, since the Canon Tables remained at the Getty instead of being returned to the Armenian Church. Proodian viewed the Canon Tables as the patrimony of all Armenians; indeed, in a broad sense the Canon Tables is part of Armenian cultural heritage. The Canon Tables, more than Holocaust-looted paintings like the *Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer*, has a resonance that is deeply communal and religious rather than private or individual. Yet in his view this implied that the Canon Tables belongs to the community or the nation as a whole rather than to the church alone.

Nevertheless, the lawsuit was about good title to the Canon Tables, and the plaintiff was the church instead of the Armenian people, the Matenadaran, or the government of Armenia. Further, Proodian conflates, perhaps unfairly, church decisions in Los Angeles with government actions in Armenia regarding vastly different cultural heritage issues. Yet the writer's concern over Armenian cultural treasures withering away or being given away by national institutions without the input of individual Armenians is poignant and deserves consideration. In hindsight, perhaps the prelacy could have been more effective in communicating how the settlement constituted a success. The restitution took the form of Getty's acknowledgment

of the church's title. The church, having reclaimed the holy pages, made its own determination for their location, exercising its own decision-making and sovereignty over the holy pages. Further, as many heirs of Holocaust-looted art who have succeeded in reclaiming their patrimony know, determining the best location for a fragile and priceless work of art is a tremendous responsibility. One does not simply hang Roslin's Canon Tables from a wall in the prelacy office or a church lobby. The highest standards of care and conservation are necessary for the work of art to be preserved for future generations. The church's attorneys never alleged that the Getty had been a poor custodian of the Canon Pages. To the contrary, the Getty's conservation facilities are among the best in the world and easily surpass those of the Matenadaran, however worthy that institution and its dedicated staff. Finally, gifting the pages to the Getty no doubt also helped settle the case rather than continue with years of litigation with no certain outcome.

The settlement is also forward-looking. The Getty indicated its commitment to greater engagement with the Armenian community, both in Los Angeles and globally. This promises to bring the benefits of collaboration between Armenian cultural institutions and the Getty, with attendant benefits of sharing information and resources, of goodwill, and greater dividends of cultural capital and exchange. Signs indicate that this is taking place. Getty officials participated in Armenian community events. James Cuno spoke at the University of Southern California's Armenian Studies Program's public event, "Innovate Armenia," in April 2016. Senior curator of manuscripts Elizabeth Morrison's lecture on medieval Armenian art co-organized by the Armenian American Museum in Glendale received a standing ovation from the capacity crowd. The Getty Conservation Institute awarded a grant toward the renovation of a Soviet Armenian Writers' Colony on Lake Sevan.[102] But other signs suggest that the Getty's engagement with the Armenian community might fade once the leverage of litigation is dissolved. As the settlement was announced, many

raised the possibility that the Canon Tables and the mother manuscript would be reunited in an exhibition. And yet the director of the Getty appeared to equivocate: "It could happen . . . but that hasn't been a part of the [settlement] agreement."[103] The Canon Tables may have prompted a lawsuit, but perhaps its legendary power of protection can now extend to the promotion and appreciation of Armenian art in Los Angeles and beyond. Time will tell.

HISTORY AND ART HISTORY IN THE COURTROOM

With *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, the history of Armenian art entered the twenty-first-century courtroom. The suit may also play a role in shaping the history of the genocide.

In 2015 attorney Vartkes Yeghiayan donated the archive of documents from the historic *Marootian v. New York Life Insurance Company* class action lawsuit to the Center for Advanced Genocide Research of the Shoah Foundation at the University of Southern California.[104] It consists of court papers, legal research, family trees, and photographs. Treasured heirlooms, yellowed papers saved by survivors and heirs for decades with little hope of receiving the money they had been owed for a century, have become historic documents in a public repository. What was private pain for so long is now a matter of public record, of recognition. These materials—and the legal research that organized them and made them meaningful again—now provide the raw materials for writing a history of the Armenian Genocide.

Court cases and trials discover and bring to light historic documents. They also generate new documents. Extensive court cases or class action lawsuits create their own archive of materials. Lawyers work with historians and conduct historical research themselves as well. In addition to finding documents in archives and repositories, court cases create forms of documentary evidence. Lawsuits compel discovery. They prompt the airing of little-known or even sealed

documents—indeed, the Armenian Genocide insurance lawsuits enabled lawyers to research insurance companies' long-forgotten corporate archives. Witnesses are deposed under oath. Lawyers and judges take these materials and fashion them into arguments, opinions, and rulings. As long as *Western Prelacy v. Getty* was proceeding, the lawyers and scholars were throwing everything they had at uncovering the past history of the Canon Tables and the possible legal implications of each step in its journey from Zeytun to Los Angeles. The manuscripts department at the Getty conducted in-depth research, just as the prelacy's attorneys performed their own, assisted by the eminent art historian Dickran Kouymjian.

Thus restitution lawsuits write the history of the atrocities for which they seek justice and compensation. American-style discovery can make it possible to discover new facts and enter them into evidence. This acquires a poignant urgency in the case of Armenian Genocide litigation, which is explicitly driven by the necessity to affirm the suppressed history of the Armenian Genocide and to make it a matter of public record. The urgency is exacerbated by the enormous burden of genocide denial. Here the goal is not only to achieve a measure of justice for descendants of the atrocities, but also to make the Armenian Genocide public in a new arena. To enter the genocide into the record, to make it a known truth, to make it incontrovertible, to present evidence of a crime denied, even a century later: this is what is at stake.

The process of writing the history of the Armenian Genocide began as the Medz Yeghern was still ongoing. Armenians on the road of exile sought to record their experiences, to memorize them, and to transmit them to others. Just after World War I, the courts-martial of the Young Turk perpetrators in Istanbul prompted the gathering of immense documentation that would have otherwise been concealed or in danger of being lost or destroyed. While many of the sentences were not carried out and most perpetrators escaped justice, the materials assembled for these trials continue to inform the work

of historians today.[105] As the years went by and any hope of bringing the *génocidaires* to justice faded, survivors persisted in their drive to amass evidence. Aram Andonian, an intellectual who lived through the death marches, recorded survivor testimonies and collected evidence as if for an eventual accounting of the truth, even if it could not be in a court of law. It was as if "history could be substituted for justice."[106] The Armenian Genocide restitution movement today follows the postwar prosecutions in Istanbul, albeit within the limits and opportunities that the legal landscape in the United States affords a century later. Still other legal cases, in the United States and internationally, have focused not on reparations but squarely on conflicts over the denial versus the acknowledgment of the Armenian Genocide—bringing the very writing of history into the courtroom.[107]

But Armenian Genocide litigation can contribute much more than mere recognition and the assignment of responsibility to perpetrators and their heirs. In comparison, historians of the Holocaust have debated whether the Holocaust restitution litigation has aided history or hindered and distorted it. Legal professionals were involved in writing the history of the Holocaust as early as the end of World War II. Some argue that the restitution litigation in the American courts constitutes a way of writing Holocaust history. As a matter of fact, the suits since the 1990s have shed light on aspects of the Holocaust that were little known or forgotten, such as the complicity of banks, railway companies, and corporations.[108] At the same time, Holocaust suits have clear limitations, driven as they are by a focus on entities that can be pursued in U.S. courts. Some historians object that legal filings reflect a distorted image of the Holocaust's full history, that the Holocaust becomes "misshapen to fit the idiom of the law."[109]

The Armenian Genocide restitution movement in the twenty-first century has certainly contributed new facts and perspectives to the still-incomplete history of the genocide. *Western Prelacy v. Getty* has shed light on overlooked aspects of the Armenian Genocide:

the dispersal and loss of artworks. Prior to that suit, the destruction of churches and cultural heritage sites in the Republic of Turkey and the confiscation of real property constituted the better-known aspects of the cultural dimension of the genocide, rather than the fate of objects within these sites—the works of art, religious items, and other valuables. The recent history of Armenian art objects has not been usually a part of art history. Even the great art historian Sirarpie Der Nersessian was reticent about discussing the recent provenance of Armenian artworks that had ended up in private or public collections. By contrast, the Getty case showed that any history of Armenian art is incomplete without a discussion of the genocide, and further, that the provenance of an Armenian work will often intersect with the history of the genocide. The writing of the history of Armenian art cannot be separated from writing the history of the Armenian Genocide. The Medz Yeghern is the reason why Armenian art is passed in silence or excluded in the historiography of Turkish or Islamic art in the Republic of Turkey. The twentieth century's most important scholars of Armenian art saw their lives distorted and transformed by the genocide and its long-term effects. It is ultimately because of the genocide that works like the Canon Tables have ended up where they are today—on display in a Los Angeles museum, a fragment washed up on the Pacific shore, instead of on the altar of the Church of the Holy Mother of God in Zeytun during the celebration of Mass.

Furthermore, the litigation brought to light dimensions of the cultural history of the postgenocide Armenian community that had slipped into obscurity, such as the immense work of intellectuals and community leaders to take stock of the loss of Armenian culture and to salvage and preserve whatever remained. Surmeyan's catalog of dispersed manuscripts, Hovsepian's unfinished history of Armenian illumination, just like Der Nersessian's studies of medieval art, acquired a new life as evidence in the courtroom.

Litigation also demonstrated that Armenian art remains vital, that it commands value in the public mind and in the marketplace. The impact of the litigation on the artwork and its reception is enormous. The lawsuit has added an important chapter to the life of the Gospel Book from Hromkla.

Certainly, there are crucial distinctions in the way lawyers use art history in court documents, and in the way art historians practice their craft. With *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, the studies by Hovsepian and Der Nersessian were resurrected for facts that could be entered into evidence to buttress arguments, and less for their interpretation of Roslin's style and iconography. Thus the legal documents pursue very different goals from those of the writings of the art historians. It is sobering to think that art history can become evidence, that interpretation can be entered into fact, that complex arguments can be mined for actionable words.

The fields of history and the law have a long entanglement. They both make use of evidence in order to reconstruct past events and interpret motivations and effects. They are both in search of the truth. But the truth in historical interpretation and truth in the courtroom are not the same. The historian Carlo Ginzburg reflected on the roles of judges and historians, and distinguished between historical and legal understandings of proof.[110] Both judges and historians consult and interpret evidence. Historians make use of court records and legal documents to write history, but they do not approach them as judges or lawyers. A historian must distinguish between truth and possibilities but can include both in her interpretation of the past. A judge, however, must consider available documents to determine whether they constitute acceptable proof in accordance with evidentiary rules. What is to be done when the historical record is fragmentary, or when available documents do not lend themselves to a seamless reconstruction of past events—as for example the Zeytun Gospels' provenance? Historians are not bound

by the legal rules of evidence or by the legal standard to evaluate matters by a preponderance of evidence. Unlike a judge, a historian may utilize not only historical records but also fragments of records in order to reconstruct past societies' mentalities or culture. As long as the historian makes clear her method as well as the types of evidence she uses, she may include educated guesses and hypotheses in her reconstructions, what Ginzburg has called the historian's intuition.[111] Yet historians are also concerned with truth and must tread carefully when filling the gaps between documents. Ginzburg likened the work of such historians to the modern art-restoration technique of the *rigatino* (hatch), in which the restorer does not conceal lesions or gaps in a painted surface by repainting, but rather makes them distinguishable by marking them with hatches. The painting is repaired, but not repainted; the gaps, breaches, and disparities remain visible.[112] Art historians, too, can infer and speculate on the basis of fragmentary evidence, as long as inferences and speculations are clearly marked, or hatched. When legal filings use the art historical tool of provenance and enter it into evidence, it is to resolve issues about ownership title in the present. By contrast, art history today sees provenance not only as a collection of substantiated facts but also as a "social history of art."[113]

REPARATIONS AND THEIR DISCONTENTS

Western Prelacy v. Getty is also inscribed in the greater context of twenty-first-century art history and issues of restitution and reparations. The public has a greater awareness than ever of cultural rights in their many forms, including the right to access and contribute to cultural life, as well as the importance of preserving cultural heritage from destruction in peace or wartime.

Claims by minorities or persecuted groups to control their own cultural heritage are ascendant, to the detriment of art museums and institutions that once collected such materials as if they were above the law and ethical considerations. The long history of con-

tests over cultural heritage has finally produced a changing climate in which these types of cases are viewed with utmost seriousness. Museums, private or public, are adopting more thoughtful standards for collecting and display.

The Getty Museum was the American institution most affected by allegations of buying recently looted antiquities. It remains haunted by its past acquisition of artworks of dubious provenance, some of which it has returned to rightful owners or source countries. In response, the Getty adopted one of the museum world's most stringent collecting policies, even more careful than the UNESCO convention regarding cultural property.[114] The convention, which was ratified by the United States, restricts museums from purchasing works of art without a documented provenance that goes back to 1970 at least. In recent years, the Getty has made public efforts to reexamine the provenance of objects in its collection and to make that information publicly accessible, and it has voluntarily and proactively returned objects to their rightful owners.[115] Yet many challenges persist.

Just as issues of art restitution remain fraught, reparations also prompt strong reactions. Fierce debates rage around reparations and allied processes that seek acknowledgment and redress of past wrongs, such as truth commissions, apologies, restitution, compensation, and reconciliation efforts. Few doubt that persons and groups that have been subjected to wrong-doing in the past deserve to see their experiences acknowledged, remedies sought, and justice restored—at least a measure of justice. Nevertheless, few deny that globally in the last century movements for restitution and reparations have been imperfect, uneven, and sometimes deeply flawed. Reparations processes unfold in real time with real constraints, rather than in accordance with abstract ideals. Inexorably, reparations are caught up in global imbalances of power. Crimes against some groups never receive commensurate consideration, especially when groups are on the losing side or are marginal to postconflict

geopolitics. Reparations invariably prompt complex questions about ethics, law, history, and personal experience. What are the political, legal, economic, and symbolic repercussions of reparations processes? The anthropologist Susan Slyomovics asked difficult questions about German reparations, the largest comprehensive redress program in history, estimated around sixty billion dollars. Digging deep into her own family members' past ordeals during the Holocaust and their encounters with the bureaucracy of reparations, she connected their experience to broader historical and political issues.[116] How can suffering, trauma, loss be quantified, indemnified, or monetized? Slyomovics considered these difficult issues in the case of Holocaust reparations and asked how these experiences could be applicable to other injustices, such as colonialism.

John Torpey critiqued the tortured history of reparations in a provocative book, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed*.[117] He observed that the global trend of righting past wrongs through reparations gained momentum during a post–Cold War, postmodern historic juncture, where the future no longer holds the promise of progress, justice, and equality. At a time when grand projects for remaking society, like socialism, prompt skepticism and few still believe in utopian futures, campaigns for reparations that focus on the past have gained ground.[118] Torpey cautioned that reparation movements' emphasis on past wrongs "may encourage a pursuit of the past that can only be understood as a response, at once compensatory and escapist, to 'the collapse of the future.'"[119] In other words, reparation's focus on the past may get in the way of envisioning a more just future. Instead, Torpey advocated a political commitment to contend with the past while also working toward a better political future.

Indeed, any reparation movement ought to be mindful of its many implications for the present and the future. Reparations address past wrongs, but they unfold in the present and have implications for the future. A politics of the future is perhaps especially

pertinent in the case of reparations having to do with cultural heritage. The idea of bequeathing something to future generations is a cornerstone of contemporary notions of world heritage and patrimony, an idea expressed in the very terms *heritage* and *patrimony*. Reparations claims regarding heritage do not merely aim at obtaining monetary restitution for the value of a work of art, be it millions or a couple of hundred dollars (though persons or groups whose culture has been stolen should be entitled to restitution). Rather, these claims are ultimately about restoring a whole culture, recovering collective memory, celebrating art, retrieving persecuted religions, recreating histories that have been obscured, undoing denial, and ending discrimination. These are projects directed toward the future—toward ensuring that our generation bequeaths better circumstances to future generations. Here is perhaps also a way in which, akin to the fictional character Toros Roslin of Davoyan's novel of the same name, the victim of spoliation gifts to the world that which has been stolen, the "light" which endures even as its creator is pushed down ever deeper into the earth. Broad movements to safeguard the cultural heritage of indigenous or persecuted communities, to restore their ability to control their own heritage for the sake of making it part of their present and future—what some Native American communities term "visual sovereignty"—these are projects that creatively engage with objects from the past for new uses, meanings, and inspiration for the present and future.

Much as Davoyan's novel envisioned, Toros Roslin's glorious Canon Tables continues to carry the light of its creative force far from Cilicia's shores, all the way to Los Angeles.

EPILOGUE

Grandfather in a suit, Grandmother wearing her church dress, harried Mother and overexcited Children wait as Father reads from his phone and proudly translates for them about an Armenian Gospels, a "Breath of God," that they have come to see. They board the tram that takes visitors up the Santa Monica Mountains to the Getty Center. It resembles a gleaming white citadel of art. The intricately landscaped grounds include carefully staged, expansive views of Los Angeles: the Pacific Ocean, the mountains, the throbbing pulse of the freeways.

The Armenian family finds a Russian-speaking docent who takes them to the North Hall, which displays medieval art. Manuscripts are sensitive to light and use, so they can only be on view for brief spells. The Canon Tables can only be shown one bifolium at a time. Curators craft special exhibitions that tell many different stories around the Canon Tables and other carefully selected objects. One exhibition presents the diversity of pious expression in Christian imagery. Another clarifies the place of Roslin's artistry within the continuum of Armenian and Byzantine art. Yet another deploys the Canon Tables in an exploration of medieval illumination around the globe, emphasizing cultural encounters, exchanges, and dialogs.

The Armenian family gathers around the Canon Tables, gazing at it reverently. Having made a pilgrimage up the hill to see a sacred relic, the family members find the holy pages. But within them they also discover a work of art, beautifully protected and displayed for

the appreciation and admiration of all. They now share their sacred treasure with the public. But they also partake of other sacred relics from other times and places. Soon, they drift toward a nearby Coptic Bible, an enameled glass pilgrim flask, or an exquisite altarpiece from Siena. They are proud to see "their" sacred pages alongside so many wonders.

People describe the art in the Getty galleries as a "collection of masterpieces," and it is no hyperbole. Even though only a fraction of the vast collection can come on display at any one time, every hall features arresting works of art representing the very best of their kind. Changing exhibitions tell innovative stories about the individual artifacts, highlight connections between them, and communicate the latest scholarly research to the public. Admission to the Getty has always been free of charge—except for parking; this is Los Angeles after all. The wealthiest art institution in the world, the Getty has attracted its share of criticism about its collection, its management practices, its outreach, its architecture, even the flowers in its gardens. And some of it is no doubt on target. Nevertheless, in the relatively short time since its establishment in 1954 it has secured a place as one of the world's most important museums and centers for research, conservation, and curatorial innovation.

The settlement between the Western Prelacy and the Getty ensured that the Canon Tables will remain in Los Angeles. At the Getty Museum, the widest public can see the Canon Tables embedded in the narrative arcs of diverse and thoughtful exhibitions. Each viewer lives his or her own experience of a work of art on display every time he or she sees it. Each viewing offers the potential of an experience of the artwork, brief or sustained, careful or distracted, rewarding or disappointing. At the Getty, the Canon Tables plays its assigned role as a work of art. Perhaps it continues to play its old roles as well: protecting the people, embodying their memory, interceding with God.

The settlement constituted a successful example where thoughtful negotiation resulted in agreement. Such contests over art, and

demands for repatriation and restitution, have become increasingly common in the cultural landscape of our time and have transformed the art world. The Canon Tables settlement certainly provides a precedent or model for other, similar disputes. Yet questions remain. The settlement resolved issues related to the past, but it did not result in a return to the past. The Canon Tables will not rejoin the mother manuscript. Rather, the settlement is forward-looking.

The Canon Tables in Los Angeles and the mother manuscript in Yerevan are survivor objects that emerged transformed by a century of trauma and exile. These experiences not only transformed the Zeytun Gospels itself in its materiality—cleaving it into two, the fragment and the mother manuscript. The experiences also transformed the object's function and meaning in the world. Thus the mother manuscript and its Canon Tables went from being a single sacred relic and liturgical object in a remote town to two works of art displayed to the public in museums, their likeness endlessly reproduced through digital technology.

For every Canon Tables that survives and remakes itself in a new setting, thousands of artworks and sacred objects are destroyed or lost. As the destruction, looting, and trafficking of art continue throughout the world, it is sobering to recall that for most assaults on culture there will be no reckoning and no restitution. Despite the best efforts of defenders of cultural heritage, the good intentions of law enforcement, and the creative work of legal experts, things will not be made whole again. Survivor objects evince an intense connection to the past. Their material presence can remind and connect the viewer to absent objects and places. Survivor objects exemplify the ever-changing, dynamic nature of cultural heritage. Even objects that bear the scars of the violence committed upon them—fragmented, mutilated, decayed, even illegible—symbolize resilience, and they face forward. Future viewers will read into them what they will

. . .

In the exhibition hall full of priceless manuscripts, the Canon Tables of the Zeytun Gospels exerted its attraction on me. Mesmerized, I lost track of time. I found I could not walk away from the illuminated artwork. I stood taking in its glow, its quiet golden glimmer. In the pages' small expanse, under the ornate architectural frame, I continually found countless new visual events. Behind me, visitors came and went, Angelenos on their Sunday outings, students gathering materials for term papers. An older man addressed me brusquely, demanding to know in English, *Are you Armenian*? I answered in Armenian, *ayo*, yes.

There and then, unprompted, he told me the story of his grandparents' odyssey from Anatolia to America. The tale was familiar. He demanded, *Urdeghatsi es?* Where are you from? I recognized he wanted to know not where I was born, but where my people were from in old Armenia and the places where they had taken refuge after the Medz Yeghern. His eyes twinkled with recognition at the place names I recited like incantations: Musa Dagh, Tokat, Agn, Çanakkale, Istanbul, Port Said, Cairo, Aleppo, Ainjar, Beirut. Just as abruptly he moved on. He did not tell me his name. Nor did he need to. The Canon Tables had projected a space where two Armenians connected through their one common experience, whose painful, perhaps cathartic, repetition is a feature of our identity: exile, genocide, pain, loss, unanswered questions, and violence without resolution, responsibility, or restitution. Uprooted from places to which no return seems possible, from life-worlds that have been wiped out. Adapted to new settings and new roles, yet marked by the past. The Canon Tables' own history mirrored our stories.

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BACK MATTER

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ABOUT THIS BOOK

The idea for this book was sparked by a legal contest over art. I resolved to write it after experiencing yet another act of genocide denial. It was a commonplace and gratuitous kind of denial by someone who undoubtedly knew better. In its casualness it laid bare the fact that denial is a manifestation of the inequity of power and hate that foster genocide. I didn't make an issue of it, but I could never forget it.

The writing process took place in the shadow of the Arab Spring and its somber aftermath. The festering conflict in Syria bore witness to the role of art in mobilizing action, as well as to the destruction of art and its intimate connection to mass violence.

The writing coincided with the centennial year of the Armenian Genocide. As a board member of "Project 2015" I had the opportunity to help organize and participate in the historic commemoration ceremonies in Istanbul. The intersection of activism, education, and memory that led up to April 24, 2015, challenged me to think critically about the genocide, its lingering effects, and human rights in practice. I am grateful to my friends and colleagues in Project 2015, and our partner human rights organizations in Istanbul and Europe. In particular, Sarah Leah Whitson, executive director of Human Rights Watch's Middle East and North Africa Division, challenged me to think about commemoration and activism together, and Nancy Kricorian, novelist and activist, shared her writing and provided vital advice about my own writing and efforts to bridge academic and general audiences.

Genocide, that greatest of crimes, reaches into all human activity, including art. It challenges the very act of representation. In this book the chapters open with short vignettes that paint a picture or narrate a scene based on the same evidence that the body of the text treats analytically. In their more evocative mode of storytelling, the vignettes pay homage to the many voices of genocide survivors. For example, Garabed Gomuvian's little-known song or Aram Andonian's masterful *In Those Dark Days* take the stylized literary forms of the traditional *ashugh* lament and the modern novella in order to relate their experiences of the genocide—experiences so traumatic that they stretch the limits and possibilities of language itself. And yet survivors also spoke of the urgency of remembering and recording.

A number of important conversations shaped the direction of this book. Susan Brenneman, the op-ed editor at the *Los Angeles Times*, encouraged me to explore how the story of the Canon Tables also told the Armenian story. Her advice underscored the importance of taking this story, and the role of cultural heritage in genocide, into public discussion. Initial critical conversation took place within the working group "The

Material World in Social Life" funded by the University of California Humanities Research Institute, for which I thank Marian Feldman, Chandra Mukerji, and Fred Turner. Rachel Teagle, founding director of the Jan Shrem and Maria Manetti Shrem Museum of Art at the University of California, Davis, encouraged me to think broadly about restitution and its impact on art history as well as the art market. An early invitation to lecture on this topic at UCLA from Susan Slyomovics, then-director of the Center for Near Eastern Studies, and the late Irene Bierman-McKinney set the stage for a discussion with Richard Hovannisian and Peter Cowe. Kathryn Babayan and Melanie Tanielian invited me to speak at the University of Michigan and shared the exhibition they curated on the collection of Armenian manuscripts "Now or Never."

In Armenia I am grateful to the staff of the Matenadaran, especially the head curator of manuscripts, Georg Ter-Vardanian, for guiding my research on the Zeytun Gospels' mother manuscript. I also thank Levon Chookaszian and Satenik Chookaszian.

I am tremendously grateful to Carel Bertram and Mia Fuller, who joined me in my quest to retrace the Zeytun Gospels' journey in Turkey. They shared with me their own important research on the erasure and reinscription of cultural heritage. In southern Turkey I thank the individuals who introduced me to their hometowns, especially Z.K. and family. In Istanbul I thank Alin Pontioğlu, the late Vangelis Kechriotis, Vagharshag *sargavak* Serovpyan, and Osman Köker. I am grateful to Osman Kavala for his intellectual and ethical example, critical discussions, and warm hospitality. At the time of writing, this civil society leader and proponent of human rights, cultural heritage, and reconciliation remains imprisoned in Istanbul, the target of preposterous allegations, as part of the Turkish authorities' crackdown on intellectuals and human rights activists.

Elizabeth Morrison, senior curator of manuscripts at the J. Paul Getty Museum, graciously hosted me, helped me examine the Canon Tables, and generously shared her research. She and Valerie Tate patiently answered my queries. Helen C. Evans, the Mary and Michael Jaharis Curator of Byzantine Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, shared her deep expertise in Toros Roslin's work over several enjoyable meetings.

Stanley A. Goldman's invitation to a conference at the Center for the Study of Law and Genocide at the Loyola School of Law in Los Angeles introduced me to the world of litigators and legal experts in cultural heritage. I am grateful to the attorneys who discussed complex legal issues with me: Lee Crawford Boyd and Rajika Shah, as well as Aslı Bâli, Karima Bennoune, Adrienne Fricke, Mark Geragos, Brian Kabateck, Kate Nahapetian, and A.L. I especially thank Michael Bazyler of the Fowler School of Law at Chapman University for many illuminating conversations over the years. I have tried to represent the legal issues to the best of my ability, and I am solely responsible for any errors. I also thank Susan Llano, the reference librarian at the Mabie Law Library at the University of California, Davis.

Researchers of genocide often report experiencing unbearable pain when studying accounts and evidence of atrocities and crimes. I found I was not immune to this. To those who provided me with moral and intellectual support at crucial moments, I am tremendously grateful: Taner Akçam, Peter Balakian, Carel Bertram, Bedross Der Matossian, Fatma Müge Göçek, Talinn Grigor, Marc Mamigonian, Christina Maranci, Dana Sajdi, and Elyse Semerdjian. Onnik Dinkjian's 2009 album of sacred hymns of the Armenian Church, and a pirate copy of a 1979 record by the French Armenian band Zartong, helped me get through the tough moments.

I also thank the following individuals for advice and assistance: Aram Arkun, Tamar Boyadjian, Garo Derounian, Jason Felch, Don Lipper, Armen Manuk-Khaloyan, Sylvie Merian, Khatchig Mouradian, Vahé Tachjian, and Patil Yessayan.

Several institutions funded my research. A grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation made my fieldwork in Turkey possible. A fellowship from the University of California Office of the President, as well as a research grant from the Academic Senate at the University of California, Davis, allowed me to focus on writing. A grant from the Mellon-funded Global Architectural History Teaching Collaborative at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology enabled me to translate some of my research into teaching materials. A publication support grant from the office of the Dean of Humanities, Arts and Cultural Studies in the College of Letters and Sciences, along with the Office of Research at the University of California, Davis, helped defray some of the expenses related to production and permissions. This publication was made possible by a generous grant from the Dolores Zohrab Liebmann Fund.

At Stanford University Press, Kate Wahl discerned the possibility of this book in its very first incarnation as a two-page prospectus. I am grateful for her patience, her careful readings of drafts in various states, and her astute suggestions. Leah Pennywark provided a close reading at a later stage. Without the editorial and intellectual support of Kate Wahl and her team, this book would not exist in its current form.

My mother, Sona Zeitlian, staunchly supported this project. My father, Sarkis Zeitlian, is present in this book through his thought and writings, but most of all through my memories of him and the cadence of his speech. My siblings Salpy and Hraztan, and especially my sister Garine, shared frank discussions about *hay tad*, the Zeytun Gospels, and its contexts. My deepest gratitude goes to three people who have had to share their lives with this book. My husband, Keith David Watenpaugh, first alerted me to a news item about the lawsuit over the Canon Tables in June 2010. I thank him for his support and advice since then, even as this project grew more complex and took more time. His own work as an eminent historian of human rights and the Middle East informs aspects of this book. Our children, Aram and Arda, cheerful, resilient, and full of life, invention, mischief, creativity, and affection, have known this book from the beginning. Cultural heritage and memory are their gifts.

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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

In the notes, Armenian is transliterated according to the Library of Congress system, but without diacritical marks. However, since this system reflects the classical Armenian pronunciation, in the main text Armenian terms are instead rendered phonetically according to their Western Armenian pronunciation. For example, the main text uses "Avedaran" for Gospels, while the notes use "Awetaran." The same principle applies to names of individuals, unless an individual's preferred form in the Roman alphabet is known to exist, as for example "Sirarpie Der Nersessian." In general, the convention of rendering the familiar ending of Armenian surnames as "ian" is followed rather than transliterating it as "ean" or "yan." Ottoman Turkish is rendered in the modern Turkish alphabet, though some terms are spelled phonetically for the ease of the reader. Arabic is transliterated according to the system used in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, but without diacritical marks.

All translations from Armenian, Arabic, French, and Turkish are the author's unless otherwise noted.

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NOTES

PROLOGUE

1. Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America v. The J. Paul Getty Museum, No. BC 438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. 2011).

2. Vartkes Yeghiayan interview (in Armenian) on "Hertapokh" [The relay], host Armen Dilanyan, AABC TV, Channel 384 Charter cable network, November 17, 2011; "The Eight Orphan Pages."

3. Attorney Levon Kirakosian speaking for the Western Prelacy, quoted in Marianna Grigoryan, "Armenia: Church Sues Getty Museum to 'Reclaim' Armenian Cultural Heritage," *Eurasianet.org*, June 15, 2010.

4. Heghnar Watenpaugh, "When Art and Religion Collide," *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 2010, National Edition, A17.

5. Two years after the Zeytun Gospels lawsuit was filed, the Church of Cyprus and the Menil Foundation deinstalled the frescoes and returned them to Cyprus in accordance with their agreement. See www.byzantinefrescochapel.org/news/_(accessed May 5, 2017). See also Annemarie Weyl Carr and Laurence J. Morrocco, *A Byzantine Masterpiece Recovered: The Thirteenth-Century Murals of Lysi, Cyprus* (Austin: University of Texas Press; Houston: Menil Foundation, 1991).

6. Individuals' names have been changed to protect their privacy.

7. Hardworking: *calışkan*; lazy: *tembel*.

8. The monument was made possible through the cooperation of the Kahramanmaraş governorate and the provincial gendarmerie command.

9. The "1920 Kurtuluş Müzesi," located on the citadel, is run by the Kahramanmaraş Belediyesi Kültür ve Sosyal İşler Müdürlüğü.

10. *Ahır dağ görmeden duramayız biz.*

11. Gentle and compliant: *mülayim, yumuşak başlı*; contrarian: *aksi*; stubborn: *inat*.

CHAPTER 1: SURVIVOR OBJECTS

1. The Canon Tables, Getty Ms. 59, consists of four bifolia. It is probable that the four bifolia at the Getty were originally part of a gathering that included two additional bifolia that are still in the mother manuscript, Matenadaran Ms. 10450. In other words, the Canon Tables was originally part of a gathering of six bifolia. For a discussion of the original sequence of pages at the beginning of the Zeytun Gospels, see Chapter 6. I thank Elizabeth Morrison, senior curator of manuscripts at the Getty, for discussing this issue with me; conversation with the author, Los Angeles, January 4, 2017, and

e-mail communication to the author, September 21, 2017. I am solely responsible for any errors.

2. "Roslin endlessly varied the ornamental designs and naturalistic elements, imbuing each page with individuality and vitality." J. Paul Getty Museum online catalog, www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=5929.

3. A Getty conservation report of 1994 noted this crease. Elizabeth Morrison closely examined the "ridges and troughs" of the crease across the four bifolia for clues as to how the bifolia may have been stored before they entered the Getty collection. She concluded, "We actually cannot tell what order they [the bifolia] were in when they were folded"; e-mail communication to the author, September 21, 2017. I thank Elizabeth Morrison for advising me about this.

4. "Acquisitions 1994," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1995), 89.

5. www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/5253/t'oros-roslin-t'oros-roslin-canon-tables-from-the-zeyt'un-gospels-armenian-1256/ (accessed May 24, 2017).

6. Gail Feigenbaum and Inge Reist, eds., *Provenance: An Alternate History of Art* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013).

7. See Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion of Holocaust-looted art and issues of restitution.

8. Emmanuelle Polack, *Les carnets de Rose Valland: Le pillage des collections privées d'oeuvres d'art en France* ([Lyon]: Fage, [2011]).

9. For a comprehensive history of the Armenian Genocide, see Raymond H. Kévorkian, *The Armenian Genocide: A Complete History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), original edition *Le Génocide des Arméniens* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2006).

10. For a summary of issues of denial, see Ronald Grigor Suny, "Truth in Telling: Reconciling Realities in the Genocide of the Ottoman Armenians," *American Historical Review* 114:4 (October 2009), 930–46; for studies of denial, see Fatma Müge Göçek, *Denial of Violence: Ottoman Past, Turkish Present, and Collective Violence against the Armenians, 1789–2009* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Jennifer M. Dixon, "Defending the Nation? Maintaining Turkey's Narrative of the Armenian Genocide," *South European Society and Politics* 15:3 (2010), 467–85; and Ayda Erbal, Bilgin Ayata, Seyhan Bayraktar, Burcu Gürsel, and Jennifer Dixon, "Roundtable: One Hundred Years of Denial: The Armenian Genocide," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 47 (2015), 783–90.

11. Dixon, "Defending," 468.

12. Talin Suciyan, *The Armenians in Modern Turkey: Post-genocide Society, Politics and History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016); Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-genocide Turkey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016); Vicken Cheterian, *Open Wounds: Armenians, Turks and a Century of Genocide* (London: Hurst, 2015).

13. Ayda Erbal observes that it is improper to assert that we are in the postgenocide era. Ayda Erbal, "A Century to Apologize For: Turkey's Minority Politics, Genocide Denial and the Intellectuals' Apology," lecture, Armenian Studies Program, University of California, Berkeley, February 4, 2014.

14. Cheterian, *Open Wounds*, with further references. David Arnett [U.S. Consulate, Istanbul], "Furor over Ataturk's Daughter's Armenian Ancestry Exposes Turkish Racism," March 10, 2004, Wikileaks Cable 04ISTANBUL374, http://wikileaks.org/cable/2004/03/04ISTANBUL374.html.

15. Western Armenian is the language of the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey. See www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas (accessed July 19, 2013); and Talar Chahinian, "Western Armenian in Peril," *Asbarez* 4 (August 2010).

16. Donald Quataert, "The Massacres of the Ottoman Armenians and the Writing of Ottoman History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 37:2 (2006), 249 (aura), and 250 (wall).

17. Taner Akçam, *The Young Turks' Crime against Humanity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), ix–xxxiii; Marc Nichanian, *The Historiographic Perversion*, translated by Gil Anidjar (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), original edition *La Perversion historiographique: Une réflexion arménienne* (Paris: Editions Lignes et Manifestes, 2006).

18. Tim Arango, "'Sherlock Holmes of Armenian Genocide' Uncovers Lost Evidence," *New York Times*, April 22, 2017. As an example of a work that seeks to prove that the genocide happened, see Geoffrey Robertson, *An Inconvenient Genocide: Who Now Remembers the Armenians?* (London: Biteback, 2014). For a critique of this tendency, see David Kazanjian and Marc Nichanian, "Between Genocide and Catastrophe," in *Loss: The Politics of Mourning*, edited by David L. Eng and David Kazanjian (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 125–47.

19. The Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program, known as the "Monuments Men," was active during and after World War II. Robert M. Edsel, with Bret Witter, *The Monuments Men: Allied Heroes, Nazi Thieves and the Greatest Treasure Hunt in History* (New York: Center Street, 2009). For further references, see the exhibition "The Monuments Men and the National Gallery of Art," National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, 2014–15, www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/exhibitions/2014/monuments-men.html.

20. See, among others, Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa: The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Jonathan Petropoulos, *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

21. There is a vast literature on the development of cultural heritage protections, and critiques of various approaches. See, among others, Françoise Choay, *The Invention of the Historic Monument*, translated by Lauren O'Connell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation* (London: Routledge, 2013); Lynn Meskell, ed., *Global Heritage: A Reader* (Chichester, UK: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015); Helaine Silverman and D. Fairchild Ruggles, eds., *Cultural Heritage and Human Rights* (New York: Springer, 2007); and John Henry Merryman, "Two Ways of Thinking about Cultural Property," *American Journal of International Law* 80:4 (1986), 831–53.

22. For critiques of world heritage, see, among others, Lynn Meskell and Christoph Brumann, "UNESCO and New World Orders," in Meskell, *Global Heritage*, 22–42; Thomas Hylland Eriksen, "Between Universalism and Relativism: A Critique of the UNESCO Concept of Culture," in *Culture and Rights: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Jane K. Cowan, Marie-Bénédicte Dembour, and Richard Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 127–48; and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "World Heritage and Cultural Economics," in *Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations*, edited by Ivan Karp et al. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 161–202.

23. Dario Gamboni, *The Destruction of Art: Iconoclasm and Vandalism since the French Revolution* (London: Reaktion Books, 1997).

24. Peter Balakian, "Raphael Lemkin, Cultural Destruction, and the Armenian Genocide," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 27:1 (Spring 2013), 57–89; Raphael Lemkin,

Totally Unofficial: The Autobiography of Raphael Lemkin, edited by Donna-Lee Frieze (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013); David Kazanjian, "Re-flexion: Genocide in Ruins," *Discourse: Journal for Theoretical Studies in Media and Culture* 33:3 (2011), 367–89.

25. These issues are discussed, with further references, in Karima Bennoune's special report on the subject of the intentional destruction of cultural heritage as a violation of human rights: United Nations Human Rights Council, *Report of the Special Rapporteur in the Field of Cultural Rights*, February 3, 2016, A/HRC/31/59, www.refworld.org/docid/56f174dd4.html.

26. "Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada," 2015, www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Findings/Exec_Summary_2015_05_31_web_o.pdf. For a critical discussion, see Nanor Kebranian, "Cultural Heritage and the Denial of Genocide Law," in *The Armenian Genocide Legacy*, edited by Alexis Demirdjian (London: Palgrave, 2016), 243–54.

27. Chip Colwell, *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017); Amy Lonetree, with Jon Daehnke, "Repatriation in the United States: The Current State of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 35:1 (2011), 87–97; J. Berlo and R. Phillips, "Our (Museum) World Turned Upside Down: Re-presenting Native American Arts," *Art Bulletin* 77:1 (1995), 6–10.

28. For example, in 2012 German prosecutors seized about 1,200 paintings discovered in the Munich apartment of Cornelius Gurlitt, son of an art dealer known to have sold art on behalf of Nazis. Some of these paintings have already been returned to the heirs of those from whom they were stolen, while provenance research continues. Michael J. Bazyler, "Achieving a Measure of Justice and Writing Holocaust History through American Restitution Litigation," in *Rethinking Holocaust Justice: Essays across Disciplines*, edited by Norman J. W. Goda (New York: Berghahn, 2018). I thank Professor Bazyler for sharing his essay with me in advance of its publication.

29. Georg Gaugusch and Sophie Lillie, *Portrait of Adele Bloch Bauer* (New York: Neue Galerie Museum, 2009); Anne-Marie O'Connor, *The Lady in Gold, The Extraordinary Tale of Gustav Klimt's Masterpiece, Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer* (New York: Knopf, 2012).

30. The Klimt painting was sold to the Neue Galerie in New York. Carol Vogel, "Lauder Pays $135 Million, a Record, for a Klimt Portrait," *New York Times*, June 19, 2006.

31. Thomas Hoving, *Making the Mummies Dance: Inside the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1993), esp. chap. 17, "The Hot Pot."

32. On the restitution of the Euphronios Krater, see Jason Felch and Ralph Frammolino, *Chasing Aphrodite: The Hunt for Looted Antiquities at the World's Richest Museum* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011).

33. James Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). Cuno continues to maintain his view against repatriation; see, for example, James Cuno, "Culture War: The Case against Repatriating Museum Artifacts," *Foreign Affairs* 93:6 (November–December 2014), 119–24, 126–29. Hugh Eakin analyzes the near-simultaneous appearance of Cuno's book and the 2008 AAMD decision, in Hugh Eakin, "Who Should Own the World's Antiquities?" *New York Review of Books*, May 14, 2009.

34. Writes Cuno:

> I question the premise of nationalist retentionist cultural property laws: that it is the right of sovereign nations to legislate the protection of and access to whatever they consider to be their cultural property, that which they claim to be important to their national identities and self-esteem. . . . Antiquities are ancient artifacts of times and cultures long preceding the history of the modern nation-state. And in all but a very few cases, they have no obvious relation to that state other than the accident of geography: they happen to have been found within its modern borders.

Cuno, *Who Owns Antiquity*, 146.

35. Eakin, "Who Should Own"; Irene Winter, "Review of *Who Owns Antiquity? Museums and the Battle over Our Ancient Heritage*, by J. Cuno," *Art Bulletin* 91:4 (2009), 522–26; R. Atwood, "Insider: Guardians of Antiquity?" *Archaeology* (July/August 2008), www.archaeology.org/0807/etc/insider.html.

36.

> Many will hope . . . that this book represents the last death throes of a failed traditional worldview: the dominance of the many by the (very) few; the dominance of a Western scientific tradition over all others; the dominance of a closed view clinging, perhaps subconsciously, to what can only be described as colonial oppression. Perhaps if a dinosaur could have written a book arguing against its extinction, it would have read like this.

Peter Stone, "Clinging on to Their Marbles," *Times Higher Education*, July 3, 2008, www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/story.asp?sectioncode=26&storycode=402569&c=1.

37. See Eakin's analysis of Cuno's use of ideas from J. H. Merryman, and Appiah's argument for a new cosmopolitanism; Eakin, "Who Should Own."

38. "Cuno's proposal . . . would shift the debate over antiquities from disputes about ownership to the more urgent matter of 'stewardship'—the term Cuno, following John Henry Merryman, uses for the paramount goals of care and preservation. But even if such a supranational entity could somehow be brought into existence to supervise the circulation of ancient artifacts, it would still require the endorsement of sovereign nations"; Eakin, "Who Should Own."

39. The Getty purchased the Aphrodite in 1988 and after a long legal process, which established that the statue had been stolen, repatriated it to Italy in 2011; Felch and Frammolino, *Chasing Aphrodite.*

40. I refer here to the current art historical focus on the materiality of the object, known as the "pictorial" or "iconic" turn. Taking its root in phenomenology, this debate examines the agency of the object itself to determine its reception. See, among others, Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Keith Moxey, "Visual Studies and the Iconic Turn," *Journal of Visual Culture* 7:2 (2008), 131–46; W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); and Robin Osborne and Jeremy Tanner, eds., *Art's Agency and Art History* (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007).

41. A haunting photograph taken on July 6, 1945, captures a cache of sacred Torah scrolls that the Nazis had stolen and collected from occupied countries in Europe, and that the U.S. military discovered. U.S. National Archives RG 111-SC-209154.

42. Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, "Survivor Objects: Cultural Heritage in and out of the Middle East," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 49:4 (2017), 752–56.

43. A "burned and looted palace"; Babgen I Catholicos of Cilicia [Papken Guleserian], "Oshin Tagawori Dzeragire, Ibrew Yarajaban," in Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Nkaragir Oshin tagavori dzeragir zhamagrikin, 1319* (Antelias: Tparan Tprevanuts katoghikosutean Kilikioy, 1933), vii. On then-bishop Kiwleserian's 1922–23 mission to the Middle East, see Oshagan Minassian, *A History of the Armenian Holy Apostolic Church in the United States (1888–1944)* (Monterey: Mayreni, 2010), 178.

44. This colophon, dated February 28, 1923, is published in Surmeyan, *Nkaragir*, 102. A key figure in the church already in 1923, Guleserian soon became one of its leaders, serving as coadjutor to Sahak II, the Catholicos of Cilicia from 1931 to 1936, during the critical years when the catholicosate, following its expulsion from what had now become Turkey, reorganized itself and relocated to Antelias, Lebanon; Babgen Kiwleserian [Guleserian], *Patmutiwn Katoghikosats Kilikioy (1441-en minchev mer orere)* (Antelias: Tparan Dprevanuts Katoghikosutean Kilikioy, 1939).

45. Dr. Harutiwn Ter Ghazarean [Harutiun Der Ghazarian] is describing the night of February 10, 1920, known later as "the Battle of Marash," in his "[Letter to Archbishop A. Siwrmeian, August 1, 1936]," in Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Mayr Tsutsak hayeren tseragrats S. Karasun Mankunk ekeghetsvoy Halepi*, vol. 2: *Mayr Tsutsak hayeren tseragrats Halepi ew Antiliasi u masnaworats* (Aleppo: Tparan A. Ter-Sahakian, 1936), 137 (henceforth Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter"; and Surmeyan Catalog 1936).

46. Garegin Hovsepian, *Niwter ew usumnasirutiwnner hay aruesti ew mshakoyti patmutean*, vol. 2 (New York: [s.n.], 1943), i.

47. Antonia Arslan, *Il Libro di Mush* (Milan: Skira, 2012). I thank Mia Fuller for bringing this book to my attention. The manuscript is the Homiliarium of Mush or Msho Charentir, Yerevan, Matenadaran, Ms. 7729.

48. These are all examples of objects that have been put up for auction in Paris, between 2014 and 2016, causing an uproar each time. See, for example, Anny Shaw, "Native American Leaders and U.S. Officials Protest against Paris Auction of Artefacts," *Art Newspaper*, May 31, 2016; and Hopi Tribe, "Hopi Tribe Demands Return of Sacred Objects Being Sold Illegally in Paris Auction," press release, May 20, 2015, www.hopi-nsn.gov/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/HOPI-PARIS-AUCTION-SALE-FACT-SHEET1.pdf.

49. ISIS's depredations in Palmyra took place in 2015. Heghnar Watenpaugh, "Cultural Heritage and the Arab Spring: War over Culture, Culture of War, and Culture War," *International Journal of Islamic Architecture* 5:2 (2016), 245–63, with further references.

50. Scott Reyburn, "What the Panama Papers Reveal about the Art Market," *New York Times*, April 11, 2016, https://nyti.ms/1Wo6d6L.

CHAPTER 2: HROMKLA

1. The expression *asduadzapah dgheaks Horomklay* is from a colophon written by Roslin in 1260: Toros Roslin, Gospels of 1260, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 251, fol. 325v. *Horomklay* is one of the variants for *Hromkla* in the medieval Armenian sources.

2. E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth, s.v. "Rum Kalesi," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.; Hanspeter Hanisch, *Hromklay: Die armenische Klosterfestung am Euphrat* (Bregenz: Vorarlberger Landesmuseum, 2002); Angus Stewart, "Qalᶜat al-Rum/Hromgla/Rumkale and the Siege of 691AH/1292CE," in *Muslim Military Architecture in Greater Syria*, edited by Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 267–78.

3. Some of the already established Byzantine vassals in Cilicia were ethnic Armenians, like the distinguished Byzantine general of Armenian origin, Philaretus, who at one time controlled a vast area that included the cities of Malatya (medieval Melitene), Marash, Urfa (medieval Edessa), and Antioch.

4. Patricia Blessing, *Rebuilding Anatolia after the Mongol Conquest: Islamic Architecture in the Lands of Rum, 1240–1330* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), with further references; Scott Redford, "The Seljuqs of Rum and the Antique," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 148–57.

5. "The cordial relations lasted only as long as the interests of both parties did not clash." Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia," in *A History of the Crusades*, edited by K. M. Setton et al., vol. 2 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 634; Gérard Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés: Étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068–1150)*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2003).

6. Robert Hewsen, "Armenia Maritima: The Historical Geography of Cilicia," in *Armenian Cilicia,* edited by Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2008), 31–33; Peter Cowe, "The Armenians in the Era of the Crusades," in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, edited by Michael Angold, vol. 5: *Eastern Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 404–29.

7. For more information on the rest of their castles, see Hewsen, "Armenia Maritima," 34.

8. The catholicosate previously resided at Dzovk, which had become vulnerable to attacks. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 3; Babgen Kiwleserian, *Tsovk-Tluk ew Hromklay* (Vienna: Mkhitarian tparan, 1904).

9. The Catholicos purchased Hromkla from the noble house of de Courtenay, Counts of Edessa. On the purchase of Hromkla, see Der Nersessian, "Kingdom," 642.

10. Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, 83.

11. Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, 81; Hermann Goltz and Klaus E. Göltz, *Rescued Armenian Treasures from Cilicia: The Sacred Art of the Kilikia Museum, Antelias, Lebanon* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 2000) (henceforth Goltz and Göltz); Sirarpie Der Nersessian, with Sylvia Agémian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993), 3.

12. Hanisch, *Hromklay*, 56–57. Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, 74, identifies this façade as a *katoghikosaran*: patriarchal seat.

13. For a summary of the rapprochement between the Roman Church and the Armenian Apostolic Church in Cilicia, with a study of medieval sources, see Zaroui Pogossian, *The Letter of Love and Concord: A Revised Diplomatic Edition with Historical and Textual Comments and English Translation* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2010).

14. Der Nersessian, "Kingdom," 650–51.

15. For example, Mleh, the Lord of the Mountains (ca. 1120–70), appears to have joined the Templars before becoming an ally of Nur al-Din, the Zengid ruler of Damascus and Aleppo. Claude Mutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, vol. 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1988), 400–402.

16. Seta B. Dadoyan, *The Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World: Paradigms of Interaction, Seventh to Fourteenth Centuries*, 3 vols. (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2011–14).

17. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 45.

18. From the "History of the Nation of Archers" by Gregory of Akner (active thirteenth century), also known as Grigor Aknertsi or Grigor of Akants. The excerpt is from the translation by Robert Bedrosian, chap. 9, http://rbedrosian.com/ga1.htm

(accessed May 1, 2017). For a review of the editions of Gregory of Akner and other texts, see Bayarsaikhan Dashdongog, *The Mongols and the Armenians (1120–1335)* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2011), 15–17.

19. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 45; Garegin Hovsepian, "Kostandin A. Katughikos," in Hovsepian, *Niwter ew usumnasirutiwnner hay aruesti ew mshakoyti patmutean* (Materials and studies in Armenian art and culture), vol. 2 (New York: [s.n.], 1943), 5–44.

20. Priscilla P. Soucek, "Armenian and Islamic Manuscript Painting: A Visual Dialogue," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, edited by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998), distributed by University of Washington Press, Seattle, 115–31; Dickran Kouymjian, "Chinese Elements in Armenian Miniature Painting in the Mongol Period," *Armenian Studies/Études arméniennes: In Memoriam Haig Berberian,* edited by Dickran Kouymjian (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1986), 415–68.

21. Gospels, artist Hohannes, 1253, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Ms. F1944.17. The artist's name is also Romanized as *Yohannes*. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1963), 18–25; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 48; Helen Evans, "Canon Tables as an Indication of Teacher-Pupil Relationships in the Career of Toros Roslin," *Medieval Armenian Culture*, edited by Thomas J. Samuelian and Michael E. Stone (Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 272–90.

22. King Hetum was a sometime vassal of the Seljuk sultan Ghiyath al-Din Kaykhusraw II (r. 1237–46) and thus minted coins such as this one at his capital of Sis, in the name of both sovereigns. An example of this coin exists in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (Accession No. 1917.215-911). See Paul Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia,* Numismatic Notes and Monographs, no. 147 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1962); Sheila Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos: The Great Age of the Seljuqs* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2016), 66–69. Kaykhusraw II's mother, known as Mahperi Hatun or Hunat Hatun, was the daughter of Kir Fard, lord of the fortress later known as Alanya, who is described as Greek or Armenian. She was a noted patron of architecture. Kaykhusraw II's Georgian wife, Tamar, was known as Gürji Hatun.

23. Seta Dadoyan has studied the case of the prince Mleh (ca. 1120–75) and his alliance with Nur al-Din Zangi and probable conversion to Islam. Dadoyan, *Armenians in the Medieval Islamic World*, vol. 2, 162–68.

24. Dashdongog, *Mongols and the Armenians*.

25. Levon Khachikyan, "Kostandin Bartsraberdtsu khratakan tughte arakuats arewelean Hayastan 1251 tvakanin," *Banber Matenadarani* 4 (1958), 267–84; Zaroui Pogossian, "An 'Un-known and Unbridled People': Vardan Arewelc'i's Colophon on the Mongols," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 23 (2014), 7–48.

26. Pogossian, "Un-known and Unbridled"; Zaroui Pogossian, "Armenians, Mongols, and the End of Times: An Overview of 13th Century Sources," in *Caucasus during the Mongol Period*, edited by Jürgen Tubach et al. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2012), 169–98.

27. *Ashkhatamatoyts*: arduous; *Khann Awag*: the Great Khan. Original colophon of the Zeytun Gospels, which appears on fol. 402a, is published in Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 139; also published in A[rtashes] S. Matevosyan, ed., *Hayeren dzeragreri hishatakaranner, 13. dar* (Colophons of Armenian manuscripts, thirteenth century) (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH Gitutyunneri Akademiayi Hratarakchutyun, 1984), 284–87.

28. Roslin followed his teacher Hohannes's example in including portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer,* 25. Helen C. Evans, "Armenian Art Looks West: Toros Ṛoslin's Zeytun Gospels," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society: Papers Delivered at the Pierpont Morgan Library at a Symposium Organized by Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck, 21–22 May 1994* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1998), 105.

29. The Annunciation appears on Zeytun Gospels (Matenadaran Ms. 10450), fol. 197v; Christ bearing the cross appears on Zeytun Gospels (Matenadaran Ms. 10450), fol. 391r. Evans, "Armenian Art Looks West," 103–14.

30. Vardan is named in the original colophon of the Zeytun Gospels, on fol. 404b, published in Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 139; and Matevosyan, *Hishatakaranner,* 285. On the binding, see Der Nersessian, "Reliquaire," 716–18; and Chapter 3, "Zeytun."

31. The medieval sources on this meeting are analyzed in Claude Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant (XIe–XIVe siècles)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2012), 146.

32. The full-page illustration of the Adoration of the Magi appears in the Gospels of 1260, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 251, fol. 15v. On this image, see Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 60–61; and Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 147.

33. The term *tiezerakaln Hoghayun* appears in the colophon written by Roslin in 1260: Gospels of 1260, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 251, fol. 325v. Translation mine. On Roslin's colophons, see Levon Chookaszian, "Toros Roslin, Chronicler," *Literary Armenia* 11 (1988), 107–10 (in Russian).

34. The Mamluk victory at Ain Jalut in Palestine in 1260.

35. On Walters Ms. 539, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1973), 10–30, no. 3; for a full description, see www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W539/description.html (accessed July 22, 2017).

36. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer*, 49.

37. For a discussion of this portrait, see Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 154–55.

38. The Gospels of ca. 1250, Yerevan, Matenadaran Ms. 8321, was commissioned by the Catholicos as a gift for his godson, the Crown Prince Levon. The painting has sustained damage and the prince's face has been effaced; the facial features were redrawn at a later date. For an overview of the known portraits of Levon, see Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 154.

39. He completed a Gospels for another noblewoman named Keran in 1265 (no relation to Levon's queen, also named Keran): Gospels of the Lady Keran, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 1965. He contributed illustrations to a Ritual manuscript made for a certain Bishop Vartan of Hromkla, completed in 1266, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 2027.

40. Colophon from the Malatya Gospels, 1268, Yerevan, Matenadaran Ms. 10675 (formerly Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 3627). The colophon is published in Mesrop Ter-Movsisian, "Haykakan Manrankarner. Kilikean Hayots tagaworneri ew Kostandin A Katoghikosi hamar gruats dzeragrer," *Azgagrakan handes* 24:1 (1913), 75. The English translation is from Sotheby and company, *Catalogue of Twenty-Three Important Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts* ... (March 14, 1967, sale catalogue) (London: Sotheby, 1967), 8–11. The sale, due to take place in London on March 14, 1967, was cancelled. See Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 53–54.

41. The title, *mubid al-tatar wa'l-arman wa'l-ifranj,* is found in a few of Baybars's inscriptions. See, for example, Reuven Amitai, "Dangerous Liaisons: Armenian-Mongol-Mamluk Relations (1260–1292)," in *La Méditerranée des Arméniens, XIIe–XVe siècle*, edited by Gérard Dédéyan and Claude Mutafian (Paris: Geuthner, 2014), 200; Etienne Combe et al., eds., *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* vol. 12 (Cairo, 1943), 128–29, no. 4593, Homs, 666/1267–68; and Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 158, note 4.

42. On the 1268 Armenian-Mamluk agreement, see Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 158–59.

43. Prince Vasak and King Hetum had the same father but different mothers. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 56; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*. This is one of at least two known luxury manuscripts commissioned by Vasak.

44. The paintings are unsigned and the colophon is lost, but the name of the patron, Prince Vasak, is preserved. Gospels, ca. 1268 or later, Washington DC, Freer Gallery, Ms. F1932.18. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer*, 26–54.

45. Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant*, 160.

46. Queen Keran's Gospels, 1272, Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 2563. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*: "The colors . . . have an enamel quality" (94). The manuscript's scribe is Avetis, but the painter is not known. Der Nersessian argues that the painter cannot be Roslin; see *Miniature Painting*, 93–94. For a discussion of the royal portrait, see Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 156.

47. Cited in Der Nersessian, "Kingdom," 655.

48. This quote appears in Marino Sanudo's (ca. 1260–1343) *Book of Secrets*, thought to have been written between 1300 and 1321. Quoted in Der Nersessian, "Kingdom," 657–58. For an alternative translation and modern edition, see Marino Sanudo Torsello, *The Book of Secrets of the Faithful of the Cross: Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis,* translated by Peter Lock (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 65.

49. A joint Mongol (Il-Khan) and Armenian force fought the Mamluks under Sultan Qalawun in 1281 and were defeated. Levon's gambit consisted in trying to appease the Mamluks without angering his principal patrons, the Mongols. Levon signed a treaty with the Mamluks in 1285, which has been preserved: Amitai, "Dangerous Liaisons," 201–2; Mutafian, *L'Arménie du Levant.*

50. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 48.

51. Within months, the Catholicos, Stepanos Hromklayetsi, died in captivity. E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth, s.v. "Rum Kalesi," *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd ed.; Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, 78.

52. The Reliquary of Skevra, 1293, was commissioned by Constantine, bishop of Skevra. Skevra was one of Cilicia's important centers of artistic production. The reliquary is located today in Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. AR 1572. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Le reliquaire de Skévra et l'orfèvrerie cilicienne au XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in her *Études byzantines et arméniennes*, vol. 1 (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1973), 705–25, originally published in *Revue des Études Arméniennes*, Nouvelle Série 1 (1964), 121–24. For the contemporary relevance of this reliquary, see Chapter 8, "Los Angeles."

53. A Gospels dated ca. 1250, attributed to Roslin, was long kept in an Armenian church in Nor Nakhichevan, a city in southern Russia near Rostov-on-Don. Today it is Yerevan, Matenadaran Ms. 8321.

54. Mikayel's manuscript, a Gospels, is today Washington DC, Freer Gallery, Ms. 1936.15. It was created between 1668 and 1773. The colophon translation and dating is

by Der Nersessian in *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer,* 90. A transcription of the colophon in Armenian reads, "*aghachem hishel yev zpatuakan grichn Toros, makanun Roslin kochetseal*" (144). For a list of other surviving manuscripts by Mikayel, see p. 93; for a comparison of Roslin's and Mikayel's paintings, see p. 95.

55. One of the five signed Roslin manuscripts deposited in Jerusalem, the Malatya Gospels of 1268, once known as Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 3627, is now preserved as Yerevan, Matenadaran Ms. 10675. The Monastery of Saint James and the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem are part of the same monastic compound.

56. Vrej Nersessian, *The Bible in the Armenian Tradition* (London: British Library, 2001), 13.

57. On the history of the Armenian version of the Bible, see Nersessian, *Bible*; and S. Peter Cowe, "The Armenian Version of the New Testament," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, edited by Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes, 2nd ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2013), 253–92.

58. Levon Avdoyan, *To Know Wisdom and Instruction: A Visual Survey of the Armenian Literary Tradition from the Library of Congress* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 2012).

59. N. Adontz, cited in Nersessian, *Bible*, 39.

60. Medieval Armenian came to be called *grabar* in contradistinction to *ashkharhabar*, the secular language, or modern Armenian. For a history of the Armenian language, see Marc Nichanian, *Ages et usages de la langue arménienne* (Paris: Éditions Entente, 1989).

61. Nersessian, *Bible*, 78.

62. Nersessian, *Bible*, 75, 78; Sylvie L. Merian, "Protection against the Evil Eye? Votive Offerings on Armenian Manuscript Bindings," in *Suave Mechanicals: Essays on the History of Bookbinding*, edited by Julia Miller, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor: Legacy Press, 2013), 42–93.

63. Nersessian, *Bible*, 31–32; Avdoyan, *To Know Wisdom*.

64. Nersessian, *Bible*, 49.

65. Nersessian, *Bible*, 49. Warder-Off of Evil: *charkhapan*.

66. Sylvie Merian notes that the practice of making votive offerings to sacred books is unique to the Armenian religious tradition. Merian, "Protection," 81.

67. From a colophon of a Gospels copied in 1620, cited in Nersessian, *Bible*, 49. The translation is Vrej Nersessian's.

68. Armenologists have studied and published colophons since the nineteenth century. For a review of the historiography, see Matevosyan, *Hishatakaranner*; A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts 1301–1480: A Source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

69. Zeytun Gospels, Matenadaran Ms. 10450, fol. 5v. Published in Matevosyan, *Hishatakaranner,* 286.

70. Nersessian, *Bible*, 51.

71. Nersessian, *Bible*, 50.

72. Nersessian, *Bible*, 50.

73. Nersessian, *Bible*, 51, from a 1337 colophon in a Gospels. Translation by Vrej Nersessian.

74. This undated colophon (possibly seventeenth century) appears on fol. 405v of the Zeytun Gospels (in Surmeyan's pagination), and is published in Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 141.

75. Unlike the pagan idols of antiquity, the images themselves were not to be worshipped. Figural imagery in a religious context is carefully regulated in the Jewish and

Islamic traditions. Within the Eastern Christian traditions, some iconoclastic movements existed in the Middle Ages, and even some of the movements that broke away from the Armenian Church, like the Paulicians and the Tondrakians, had a strong iconoclastic bent.

76. Nersessian, *Bible*, 53–56; Dickran Kouymjian, "The Evolution of Armenian Gospel Illumination: The Formative Period (9th–11th Centuries)," in *Armenia and the Bible*, edited by Christoph Burchard (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 5; Thomas Mathews and Avedis K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography: The Glajor Gospel and Its Tradition* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991); Helen C. Evans, "Manuscript Illumination at the Armenian Patriarchate in Hromkla and the West," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990.

77. See, for example, Helen Evans's discussion of the marginal portrait of Saint Peter on fol. 66v in the Zeytun Gospels, in her "Armenian Art Looks West," 110–11.

78. This document is known as Eusebius's Letter to Carpianus.

79. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 43.

80. Especially before the fifteenth century, a full history of the canon tables is not available. Robert S. Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: An Illustrated New Testament of A.D. 1133," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987), 59–61.

81. Nelson, "Theoktistos": there are no such texts in Byzantine tradition, even though canon tables are extensively featured in Byzantine Gospels manuscripts. See also Mathews and Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography.*

82. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer*, 16.

83. The *Commentary on the Canon Tables* constituted an extended preface to a *Commentary on the Gospel of Saint Matthew*, left unfinished by Nerses. Nersessian, *Bible*, 41; Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer,* 16–17. For recent editions of this text, see V[igen]. H. Ghazaryan, "Kerparvestn est Nerses Shnorhalu," *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitutyunneri*, no. 1 (1972), 68–75; V[igen]. H. Ghazaryan, *Meknutiwnk khoranats*, edited by H. Hovhannisyan and G. Ter-Vardanian (Echmiadzin, Armenia: "Garegin A" hayagitakan-astvatsabanakan kentron, Mayr Ator S. Ejmiatsin, 2004).

84. The term for degrade is *anargel*. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Image Worship in Armenia and Its Opponents," *Armenian Quarterly* (1946), 67–81.

85. The translations from this text are mine. *Meknutiwn Surb Awetaranin vor est Matteosi, arareal i Srbuyn Nersise Shnorhalwoy* ... (Istanbul: I Hasanpashay Khann, 1825), 11 (henceforth Nerses Shnorhali, *Meknutiwn*). See also Ghazaryan, "Kerparvest."

86. Nerses Shnorhali, *Meknutiwn*, 6.

87. Nerses Shnorhali, *Meknutiwn*, 10.

88. Nersessian, *Bible*, 74.

89. Translated by Vrej Nersessian, *Bible*, 74.

90. Translated by Vrej Nersessian, *Bible*, 74. See also Mathews and Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography.*

91. Ghazaryan, "Kerparvest," translated by Vrej Nersessian, *Bible*, 74. Der Nersessian, "Image Worship in Armenia," 81.

92. For example, the inscription on the great gate of the citadel by al-Ashraf; Stewart, "Qal^{c}at al-Rum"; E. Honigmann and C. E. Bosworth, s.v. "Rum Kalesi," *Encyclopedia of Islam,* 2nd ed.

93. Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, 86 note 1.

94. Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, 100.

95. Celebrated on the Sunday closest to August 15, the Feast of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God is one of the five major feasts of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Kiwleserian discusses this local saint, "Der Nerses," and argues that it may be a local remembrance of Nerses Shnorhali.

96. Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, 77. To my knowledge no excavation has been conducted on the citadel; only a survey of what is on the surface.

97. Kiwleserian, *Tsovk*, preface. Among Kiwleserian's many publications, the following come closest to his planned panorama of the history of the Armenian Church: Babgen Kiwleserian [Guleserian], *Patmutiwn Katoghikosats Kilikioy (1441-en minchev mer orere)* (Antelias: Tparan Dprevanuts Katoghikosutean Kilikioy, 1939); Babgen Kiwleserian [Guleserian], *Hay Ekeghetsi: Usumnasirutiwnner* (Jerusalem: Tparan Srbots Hakobeants, 1930).

98. See Chapter 1, "Survivor Objects."

CHAPTER 3: ZEYTUN

1. W. J. Childs, *Across Asia Minor on Foot* (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1917), 391. The contemporary Turkish spelling of the river Jeyhun is Ceyhan nehri. Zeytun River was also known as the Zeytun Su.

2. Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 399. Beirût Dagh or Berit Mountain is Berit Dağı in contemporary Turkish.

3. Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 394.

4. *Salname-i Vilayet-i Haleb: Otuz Üçüncü Sene* (Aleppo: Matbaᶜa-yi Vilayet, 1321 AH/1903 AD), 486 (henceforth *Salname* 1903).

5. *Salname* 1903, 485.

6. On Zeytun in the medieval sources, see Ghewond Alishan, *Sisuan: Hamagrutiwn Haykakan Kilikioy ev Levon Metsagorts* (Venice: S. Ghazar, 1885). See also Aghasi, *Zeytun ew ir shrjakanere: nkaragrutiwn ashkharhagrakan, patmakan ew paterazmakan Rubinean Tagaworutean ankumen minchew mer orere* (Beirut: Union Compatriotique de Hadjin, 1968), 29–34 (henceforth Aghasi 1968). For alternative narratives about Zeytun's origins, see Aghasi 1968, 29; and Grigor H. Galustian, *Marash kam Germanik ew heros Zeytun* (New York: Kochnak Tparan, 1934), 94–95. [Aris Aharonian and Nshan Patanian, eds.,] *Zeytuni Patmagirk* (Buenos Aires: Hratarakutiwn Zeytuni Hayrenaktsakan Miutean, Monteviteo, Urukuay, 1960), 15–59, includes a selection of colophons that mention the placename *Zeytun* (henceforth *Zeytuni Patmagirk*).

7. This is the theory advanced in Aghasi 1968.

8. Aghasi 1968, 30–31.

9. Aghasi 1968, 29, 31. Quotes a 1727 statement by the Catholicos Garabed of Cilicia, who was of Zeytuntsi origin. This indicates that by the eighteenth century the highland settlement was established enough for a native son to be elected Catholicos. Armenian texts provide the phonetic transcription of the town name as *Zeytun* or *Zetun*, slightly different from the Turkish pronunciation of the word *olive*, which is *zeytin*, and also different from the Arabic pronunciation of *zaytun*.

10. The manuscript is a Synaxarion (*Haysmawurk*), copied in 1536 in "Zeytun Berd," later preserved in the Church of the Forty Martyrs, Aleppo: Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Mayr Tsutsak hayeren tseragrats S. Karasun Mankunk ekeghetsvoy Halepi*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Tparan Srboy Yakobeani, 1935), 331–40 (henceforth Surmeyan Catalog 1935).

11. "*I brnakalute tachkats Suliman khondkarin*." The full inscription is reproduced in H. H. Allahvertian, *Ulnia kam Zeytun, lernayin awan i Kilikia: Nkaragir teghakan, kensakan,*

banasirakan ew lezuabanakan (Istanbul: Tpagrutiwn G. Paghtatlian, 1884), 13. Also discussed in Galustian, *Marash*, 111. The small church of Saint James stood between the Bozbayır and Gargalar neighborhoods. Saint James appears to have been rebuilt a number of times—possibly the building material required constant maintenance. The most detailed discussion of the churches of Zeytun is G. Gasapian, "Zeytuni Hay yekeghetsinere," in *Zeytuni Patmagirk*, 826–27.

12. "State of exception and independence": *istisnaiyet ve istiklaliyet*. The document apparently fell victim to the fire of 1884; its content is reproduced, in Ottoman Turkish in Armenian letters, in Mnatsakan Semerchian (Zeytuntsi) [1840–1914], *Ze[y]tuni antsealen ew nerkayen*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Mkhitarean Tparan, 1900–1903), 30–32. For further analysis, see Astourian, "Genealogy," 178.

13. In the colophon that memorializes the new binding, the date is illegible. The colophon states that it was rebound during the reigns of Sultan Süleyman and the Catholicos Khachatur, which yields two possibilities: either the reigns of Süleyman I the Magnificent (1520–66) and Catholicos Khachatur II (1560–84), or the reigns of Süleyman II (1642–91) and the Catholicos Khachatur III (1657–79). Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Le reliquaire de Skévra et l'orfèvrerie cilicienne au XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in her *Études byzantines et arméniennes*, vol. 1 (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1973), 716–18. On the binding of the Zeytun Gospels, see also Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 138.

14. This discussion of the binding is based on Der Nersessian, "Reliquaire," 716–18; Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 138; and my own examination of the Zeytun Gospels' binding. The current state of the binding appears identical to Sirarpie Der Nersessian's black and white photograph of the front binding of the Gospel Book, taken in 1952 when the Zeytun Gospels was at the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul. Sirarpie Der Nersessian Papers and Photographs, 1939–1966, Illuminated Manuscript Photographs Collection, ca. 1950, PH.BZ.005, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.

15. This colophon appears on fol. 404v, published in Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 140 (translation of the colophon is mine).

16. The colophon is published in Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 141. "The lawless": *anawrinatsn*; "Miracles": *skanchelik*.

17. In a documentary made for Armenian television, researchers at the Matenadaran suggest that the Church of the Holy Mother of God to which Mahdesi Hagop took the manuscript may have been located in Marash. They base this on the reading that some later colophons appear to suggest the manuscript was in Marash. In this scenario, the manuscript would subsequently have been brought from Marash to Zeytun at an unknown time. While this is possible, it is too speculative. My reading of the colophons does not suggest solid evidence that the manuscript was kept in Marash. Lilit Martirosyan, et al., "Prkvadz Tseragrer. Zeytuni Avetaran," 1TV Hanrayin Herustaenkerutyun [Public TV Company of Armenia], June 21, 2015, https://youtu.be/lCzSdGGJsyI (accessed July 18, 2017).

18. The travelogue of Simeon of Poland, or Simeon Dpir Lehatsi (1584–?), is preserved in a single manuscript, today at the Warsaw National Library, Poland. The authoritative edition is Nerses Akinian, ed., *Simeon Dpri Lehats'woy ughegrut'iwn, taregrut'iwn ew hishatakarank'* (The travelogue, chronicle, and colophons of Simeon Dpir Lehatsi) (Vienna: Mkhitarian Tp., 1936), 325: "*zi tsir u tsan yev haladzealk en eghel i jelalotsn*." The original Armenian uses the term *Jelali*. For an alternative English translation, see *The Travel Accounts of Simeon of Poland*, introduced and translated by George Bournoutian

(Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2007), 271–72. For a discussion of the date of Simeon's visit to Zeytun, see Bournoutian, "Introduction," 8.

19. Marash was the seat of the provincial district (*sanjak*) that comprised the subdistrict (*kaza*) of Zeytun, which consisted of Zeytun town along with its dependencies, the surrounding villages, themselves organized into sub-subdistricts (*nahiye*). *Salname* 1903.

20. "Mémoire de M. Robert (membre de la commission d'enquête française à Marache) sur le district du Zeitoun (1863)," Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (AMAE, Paris), Correspondance des Consuls 1826–1870, Sous-Série Turquie, Marrasch, vol. 1: *Marrasch (Zeithoun), 1862–1865*, fol. 310 (henceforth Robert, "Mémoire"). See the discussion of this source in Michel Paboudjian, "Zeytoun la singulière," in *Les Arméniens de Cilicie: Habitat, mémoire et identité,* edited by Raymond Kévorkian et al. (Beirut: Presses de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 2012), 120. I thank Vahé Tachjian for discussing this document with me.

21. The patriarchate's numbers likely came from reports by parish priests, based on church records. The patriarchate's numbers were published in Alishan, *Sisuan*. For this and additional estimates of Zeytun's population figures, see Galustian, *Marash*, 94–96. For discussion of population figures for Zeytun, see Paboudjian, "Zeytoun."

22. For a discussion of the estimate of twenty thousand, see Aram Arkun, "Zeytun and the Commencement of the Armenian Genocide," in *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire*, edited by Ronald Grigor Suny, Fatma Müge Göçek, and Norman M. Naimark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 238. In the *Salname* 1903, 487, population figures for the entire *kaza* (Zeytun town and dependent villages) are divided by religion and gender. Thus, according to its categories, out of a total of 16,430 inhabitants, 8,403 were Muslims (with no further differentiation), 7,338 were Armenian (that is, Armenian Apostolic), while 401 were Catholic and another 288 were Protestant.

23. The three trades: *Salname* 1903. The *Salname* details amounts and types of land available (cultivated or noncultivated, orchards and planted fields), farm animals (39,915 goats and 3,924 sheep), and agricultural products like lentils, chickpeas, and raisins. As the mountainous terrain is unsuited to cultivating certain cereals, they have to be purchased annually from nearby localities like Albistan and Göksun. *Salname* 1903, 486.

24. Semerchian, vol. 2, 124.

25. The only source that comments on this change is Aghasi 1968, 32. Aghasi attributes the change to the fact that the olive trees were cut down during the "wars" of Zeytun. For a broader history of these ecological, social, and economic changes, see Chris Gratien, "The Mountains Are Ours: Ecology and Settlement in Late Ottoman and Early Republican Cilicia, 1856–1956," Ph.D. diss., Georgetown University, 2015.

26. Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 397.

27. Robert, "Mémoire," fol. 318 in Paboudjian, "Zeytoun," 124.

28. Aghasi 1968, 44, 115. *Salname* 1903, 486: for the mines of Berit Mountain, two of iron and one of coal, providing figures for yearly yields and detailing problems of extraction and processing, as well as means of transportation to Marash.

29. A visitor into the subterranean maze of the iron mines on Berit Mountain in the summer of 1907 recalled the terrifying sounds he heard underground. Galustian, *Marash,* 88.

30. Galustian includes a transcription of the song in its original Turkish rendered in the Armenian alphabet, as well as an Armenian translation. Galustian, *Marash*, 88.

31. Aghasi 1968, 115.

32. Aghasi 1968, 134; s.v. "Zaitun," *Encyclopedia of Islam*; Irma Ghazarossian, "Souvenirs d'une infirmière en Cilicie (juin–octobre 1919)," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 1 (1920–21), 377–442; Frédéric Macler, "Autour de la Cilicie. Zêythoun (notes d'ethnographie arménienne)," *Journal Asiatique* 11:7 (1916), 139–69.

33. Aghasi 1968, 133–34; *Zeytuni Patmagirk*, 834. For a sense of the public debates on religion within the Armenian community as it related to Zeytun, see Chanik Aramian, *Zeytuntsik yev lusavorchakan hayk* (Constantinople: Aramian Press, 1867; 1866 on jacket).

34. Stephan Astourian, "On the Genealogy of the Armenian-Turkish Conflict, Sultan Abdulhamid, and the Armenian Massacres," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 21 (2012), 178.

35. On the 1895–96 insurrection, see Aghasi 1968; Astourian, "Genealogy"; Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1995), 127–32.

36. On "Armenian Montenegro," see Anatolio Latino [Enrico Vitto], *Gli Armeni e Zeitun* (The Armenians and Zeytun), 2 vols. in 1, 2nd ed. (Florence: B. Seeber, 1899). "Eagle's nest" appears in the title of Apah, *Hay artsiwneru boyne: druagner Zeytuni 1895i depkeren* (Cairo: Tparan Osketar, 1918). "Heroic" occurs in the title of Galustian, *Marash,* and many other instances.

37. Astourian, "Genealogy," 180.

38. Astourian, "Genealogy," 181.

39. On the grazing agreements, see Aghasi 1968, 30.

40. Aghasi 1968: "Armenian-speaking Turks," 19; clans that comprised split branches, 43; Zeytuntsis and Turkmen, 45.

41. Aghasi 1968, 77.

42. The commander who ordered fire set to the monastery was one Ali Bey Zeybek. Aghasi 1968, 34.

43. Surp Astuadzadzin was sometimes simply called the Vank, or monastery. Aghasi 1968, 14, 334. A small village called Vanki Tagh (Monastery Quarter) abutted the sanctuary. Aghasi 1968, 15.

44. Aghasi 1968, 108; Semerchian, vol. 1, 18. Manuscripts: Galustian, *Marash*, 109.

45. Aghasi 1968, 30; 108: *arakelashen*: "built by Apostles."

46. Aghasi 1968, 49.

47. Aghasi estimates it measured fifty meters long, thirty to thirty-five meters wide. The barracks had two great openings: the Marash Gate to the west, and the Zeytun Gate to the east. Water was piped to the barracks from hills to the east. Aghasi 1968, 128.

48. Aghasi 1968, 192–93, 196.

49. On his short visit to Zeytun, the British politician Mark Sykes (1879–1919) stayed at the barracks, and he included a photograph in his 1904 book. Sykes is perhaps most remembered for his role in the infamous Sykes-Picot Agreement. Mark Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam: A Record of a Journey Through Ten of the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey* (London: Bickers, 1904), photo of barracks: 80.

50. Aghasi 1968, 108; for another discussion of the twin monasteries near Jermuk/Ilica—Holy Redeemer and Surp Garabed (Saint John the Precursor, or the Baptist)—see also Semerchian, vol. 1, 16–17. Vardavar, a feast in the Armenian Apostolic Church that some believe has pagan roots, occurs fourteen weeks after Easter.

51. Aghasi 1968, 110. Additional holy places in the landscape are listed in Ghewond Alishan, *Sissouan, ou l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice: S. Lazare, 1899), 202.

52. Aghasi 1968, 108.

53. Trees, two hundred types of plants, birds: Aghasi 1968, 10. Additional information on plants of Zeytun: *Zeytuni Patmagirk*; and *Salname* 1903. Galustian, *Marash*, 91, mentions a German botanist's 1865 study of the plants of Berit Mountain. About hunting large animals: "Sportsmen who read this book should note that splendid ibex, lynx, panthers and partridges are to be obtained near Zeitun, while the route from Ekbes to Marash is stocked with boar, teal, snipe, wild duck, and panthers in great quantity"; Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*, 81.

54. Snowstorm of December 9, 1895: Aghasi 1968, 308–9.

55. Aghasi 1968, 110. Each boundary rock had a special name and role. Semerchian, vol. 1, 19; Galustian, *Marash*, 110.

56. The date of the fountain built by Gara-Poyaji is not known. The inscription and cross were destroyed in 1915; see below. Semerchian, vol. 1, 9–10. Smbad Biwrat notes that he is the great-grandson "of the famous Karaboyaji, who commissioned the building of Zeytun's Bagh-Aghbiwr," with no further detail, in Biwrat, "Lernakani me hushatetre," *Bazmavep* 93 (1935), 39.

57. Aghasi 1968, 10.

58. This series of photographs is preserved today at the Jesuit Archives at the Bibliothèque Orientale of the Université Saint Joseph in Beirut. They were taken by an unknown photographer, probably around 1911. I thank Vahé Tachjian for discussing them with me.

59. On the houses of Zeytun, see Robert, "Mémoire," fols. 312–13, cited in Paboudjian, "Zeytoun," 115–16.

60. Biwrat, "Lernakani me hushatetre," 40.

61. Eyewitness testimony of Karapet Tozlian, born 1903, Zeytun, Testimony no. 139, in Verjine Svazlian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors*, translated by Tigran Tsulikian and Anahit Poghikian-Darbinian (Yerevan: National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 2011).

62. Biwrat, "Lernakani me hushatetre," 40. The childhood home Biwrat describes resembles closely French diplomat Robert's description of Zeytun houses in 1863. Biwrat was born in 1862.

63. For the most precise description of the neighborhoods' boundaries, see Semerchian, vol. 1, 19–20.

64. In addition to the five churches, discussed below, there were Saints Apostles Peter and Paul, Saint Barsam, and some chapels. Allahvertian, *Ulnia kam Zeytun*, 13–14.

65. Aghasi 1968, 13. The last Protestant minister of Zeytun, Andreasian, wrote about his time in Zeytun in 1915. Tigran Andreasian, *Zeytuni Andznatuutiwne ew Suetioy inknapashtpanutiwne* (Cairo: Tpagr. Z. Perperian, 1915).

66. Other names for the Middle Quarter were *orta mahalle* (Turkish for "middle quarter"): Allahvertian, *Ulnia kam Zeytun*, 13; and *mijin tagh* (same meaning, in Armenian): Semerchian, vol. 1, 19.

67. Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 400.

68. Aghasi 1968, 30. For the photographs that show this aspect of the citadel, see Hugo Grothe, *Geographische charakterbilder aus der asiatischen Türkei und dem südlichen mesopatamisch-iranischen randgebirge (Puscht-i-kûh)* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1909), plate 24, fig. 48; and Jesuit Archives at the Bibliothèque Orientale of the Université Saint Joseph in Beirut. Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 400, on visiting the projecting room.

69. The small church of Saint James stood between Bozbayır and Gargalar. The Armenian names of these locations are Upper Quarter: Veri Tagh; Church of Saint John: Surb Hovhannes; Lower Quarter: Vari Tagh; Holy Archangel: Surb Hreshtakapet; and Saint James: Surb Hakop.

70. Thus wrote an Armenian from Istanbul in 1884. Allahvertian, *Ulnia kam Zeytun*, 13. A French visitor in 1865 opined, "L'architecture est nulle dans ces édifices. Ce sont de vastes hangars où la charpente joue le principal rôle." Léon Paul, *Journal de voyage: Italie, Égypte, Judée, Samarie, Syrie, Taurus Cilicien, Archipel Grec* (Paris: Librairie francaise et étrangère, 1865), 240.

71. On the schools of Zeytun, see Robert, "Mémoire," fol. 395, cited in Paboudjian, "Zeytoun," 128.

72. On 1863, see Robert, "Mémoire," fol. 313, cited in Paboudjian, "Zeytoun," 116. In 1884 the bazaar comprised sixty shops: Galustian, *Marash,* 118; Semerchian, vol. 2, 123. *Salname* 1903, 485: 120 shops.

73. *Salname* 1903, 485.

74. Misak Siserian (M. Ulnetsi), *Badmutiwn Zeytuni (1409–1921)* (Lebanon: [s.n.], 1996), 90.

75. Inside the town, a small group of local Muslims were called *hajonts* (as in "the Hajjis"). Aghasi 1968, 19.

76. They are pictured together in an intriguing group portrait taken around 1911 (Beirut: Jesuit Archives).

77. Robert, "Mémoire," fol. 336, cited in Paboudjian, "Zeytoun," 121. Robert used the term Caba-daï, i.e., *kabadayı*, or local strongman. Armenian sources called the council *idareyi joghov*, "administrative council," combining Armenian- and Turkish- language terms. "Ulnioy Hay Ekeghetsinere," *Biwzandion* 1071 (1900), reprinted in *Zeytuni Patmagirk*, 824 (henceforth "Ulnioy Ekeghetsinere").

78. *Ishkhan* is the term consistently used by writers as different as the Mekhitarian monk Ghewond Alishan and the revolutionary Aghasi. Sons of the princes were sometimes called *ishkhanazun* (son of a prince). Sedrak Shahen, *Zeytun: Trama chors araruats ew mek patkerov* (New York: Armenia Tparan, 1920).

79. "*Dört derebeyler*": Semerchian, vol. 1, 82; "beys": Aghasi 1968, quoting poems, 127; "aghas" or "*yereveliner*": Andreasian, *Zeytuni Andznatuutiwne*, 10; "agha" and "ishkhan" listed interchangeably: Aghasi 1968, 208. Note that Aghasi indicates that his hometown of Hajin also had a variant of the ishkhan system. Paul, *Journal de Voyage*, 243, used the term *prince* to refer to the ishkhans.

80. Aghasi 1968, 47.

81. A dispute regarding the seating arrangement of the ishkhans nearly derailed negotiations at the end of the 1895–96 insurrection. Aghasi 1968, 347.

82. Semerchian, 21–22, 120: gifts; Galustian, *Marash*, 99; Aghasi 1968, 15: surrounding villages under the control of ishkhans.

83. For information on Basil the Brigand in his medieval context, see Chapter 2, "Hromkla." The Surenians were also thought to be descended from the Lords of Siwnik in historic Armenia, which is similar to the genealogy of Basil the Brigand himself. Semerchian's genealogy and history of the four houses: vol. 1, 20–22; Aghasi 1968, 30; Galustian, *Marash*, 98.

84. Gérard Dédéyan, "Les princes arméniens de l'Euphratèse et les Francs (c. 1080–c. 1150)," in *Arménie, entre Orient et Occident*, edited by Raymond Kévorkian (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1996), 165.

85. The four notables managed to negotiate their return to Zeytun within three months. The original photographs are presumed lost. They are preserved only through printed reproductions. The photographs have been widely reproduced, but the circumstances in which they were taken are not entirely clear. Aghasi stated that he was the first to publish the photographs in the 1897 French-language version of his book, that he obtained the photographs in Paris in 1896, that they were taken by Abdullah Frères in 1862, and that the elegant clothes had been presented to the ishkhans by the Armenian Catholic monsignor of Istanbul. Aghasi 1968, 105–6. Nazaret Surenian's death date range is based on Aghasi 1968, 116.

86. The genealogies of the princely families in the Armenian-language sources bear out this process of constant negotiation and adjustment. While no longer "ishkhans," the Apartians remained a prestigious family in Zeytun. Galustian, *Marash,* 98; Aghasi 1968, 46; Smbat Biwrat, *Zeytuntsi Vardapetě kam Grigoris Ts. V. Abardeants. Kensagrakan* (Istanbul: Vaghinak S. Biwrat, 1910).

87. Aghasi 1968, 146.

88. Aghasi 1968, 256. "Hostage": *patand*.

89. For example, Nazaret's feud with the head of the town of Furnus, "*gituats ein sirayin khndirnerov*": Aghasi 1968, 190. Nazaret Ishkhan removed a bullet from his knee: Aghasi 1968, 187. Photograph of Nazaret in Ottoman uniform: Aghasi 1968, 180. A photograph in the Jesuit archives in Beirut almost certainly represents Nazaret. For a discussion of Zeytun and Nazaret Ishkhan by his son, see Levon Norashkharhyan, *Zeytune 1914–1921 tt.: Husher* (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH GA Hratarakchutyun, 1984).

90. "*Arslanlar yatağı, koca Zeytun bu*"; Aghasi 1968, 89.

91. *Bineydimde kir atımın üstüne,*
Göstereydim döğüs/dovus?, kavga nerd'olur

Aghasi 1968, 59. See also *Zeytuni Patmagirk*, 822.

92. Aghasi 1968, 60. A similar poem is discussed in *Zeytuni Patmagirk*, 823.

93. Aram S. Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane Inchpes Prkuetsaw?" *Zartonk* [Beirut], August 5, 1967, 2. Shorvoghlian's description of the Zeytun Gospels being paraded in the city does not identify a specific instance when this took place.

94. Celebrated on the Sunday closest to August 15, the Feast of the Assumption of Saint Mary, the Mother of God, is one of the five major feasts of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

95. Aghasi 1968, 95.

96. Aghasi 1968, 97; Semerchian, vol. 1, 119.

97. Semerchian, vol. 1, 116.

98. Surp Sarkis, or Saint Sergius, was also locally known as "Khederellez." Aghasi 1968, 99. This may be a variation of the Islamic figure Khidr.

99. Aghasi 1968, 270.

100. Aghasi 1968, 277.

101. Paul calls it the "palladium" of Zeytun. Paul, *Journal de voyage*, 240.

102. Aghasi 1968, 49.

103. It was called "Vasli Awedron" in the Zeytun dialect. Aghasi 1968, 49.

104. The date at which the Shovroyans left Berdus or Bertiz is not recorded. Aghasi 1968, 35; Alishan, *Sissouan*, 202.

105. Another devastating fire took place in July 1887. Galustian, *Marash*, 118–19; Aghasi 1968, 131.

106. "Ulnioy Ekeghetsinere," 824. As discussed earlier, the binding of the Zeytun Gospels as it has come down to us is not made of gold.

107. Allahvertian, *Ulnia kam Zeytun*, 14, probably viewed the Gospels shortly before the fire of 1884; "venerable antiquity": *patuakan hnutiwn*.

108. Galustian, *Marash*, 111. He counted 776 pages (probably meaning folios).

109. "Ulnioy Ekeghetsinere," 825.

110. In March 1900 the Istanbul-based weekly *Biwzandion* (Byzantium) published an article on the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Mother of God on the citadel following the fires. *Biwzandion* was a general-interest Armenian-language weekly, continuously published between 1896 and 1915, by Puzant Kétchian. "Ulnioy Ekeghetsinere," 824–25.

111. The meeting constituted a high point in the self-organization of the insurrection and marked the first time Aghasi was allowed in Zeytun town, after being induced to undertake a religious ritual. For a transcription of Aghasi's handwritten minutes of that meeting and the list of participants, see Aghasi 1968, 206–8.

112. "Came upon us": *mer veran ekav*. "Be informed of this": *asank imanak*. The colophons are published in Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 139–42. For an early discussion of the colophons while the Gospels were still located in Zeytun, see "Ulnioy Ekeghetsinere," 825.

113. The information on the box and keys of the Gospels is from Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137. Der Ghazarian wrote, "After the declaration of the Turkish constitution." I take this to indicate 1908, when the Ottoman constitution was reinstated following the Young Turk Revolution, rather than the original declaration of the constitution in 1876. What appears to be an effort on the part of the church council to share in the ishkhan's power would seem to be in keeping with the spirit of 1908.

114. Vestry, or body of lay members, who ran the church: *taghakanutiwn*. Placing valuable manuscripts in hidden niches in churches was commonly practiced in Cilicia; see, for example, Surmeyan Catalog 1936, vii.

115. "Monsignor": *Kerabaydzar*. "Ulnioy Ekeghetsinere," 825. Perhaps Ardavazt Surmeyan was referring to this episode when he emphasized, "This manuscript remained for many years in Zeytun and it is evident that every care was taken to *not* remove it [from Zeytun]"; Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 136 (emphasis mine).

116. The author was a relative of Asadur Agha Surenian. Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane," 2.

117. Sea silk or byssus (*behez* in Armenian) is a fine fabric made of the silky filaments of pen shells. It is extremely rare. Sea silk was known to have been produced in the Eastern Mediterranean at the beginning of the twentieth century.

118. Aghasi 1968, 383–84; Arkun, "Zeytun," 224.

119. This photograph is among the series from the Jesuit Archives in Beirut, possibly dated 1911. The man in the photograph is almost certainly Nazaret Yenidünyayan.

120. For recent historiographic analyses of the large scholarly literature on the 1908 revolution, see Keith David Watenpaugh, *Being Modern in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), esp. 55–66; and Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014).

121. Positive effects of 1908 on Zeytun: Aghasi 1968, 380.

122. Bedross Der Matossian, "From Bloodless Revolution to Bloody Counterrevolution: The Adana Massacres of 1909," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 6:2 (2011), 152–73.

123. Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 397. He was in Zeytun in late 1911 or early 1912.

124. Childs, *Across Asia Minor*, 401. He mentions rifles modeled after the "Peabody-Martini." Also known as the Martini-Henry, it was a rifle that entered service in 1871 and was first used by the British army. It is a single-shot, lever-activated, breech-loading rifle. It has many variants. The Imperial War Museum's collection features an Ottoman M1874 Peabody-Martini rifle, made for the Ottoman military, captured during World War I in Mesopotamia (Catalogue No. FIR 7353), www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30035042 (accessed November 17, 2014).

125. Aram Arkun recently reconstructed the microhistory of Zeytun in 1914 and 1915. Arkun, "Zeytun," 224. General discussion of the cost of war on local populations: Yigit Akin, "Seferberlik: Building Up the Ottoman Home Front," in *World War I and the End of the Ottomans: From the Balkan Wars to the Armenian Genocide*, edited by Hans-Lukas Kieser et al. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015), 54–76.

126. Arkun, "Zeytun," 224–25; Norashkharhyan, *Zeytune*.

127. The group of Zeytun notables were taken to Marash prison in September 1914. By early October 1914, Nazaret was killed. Arkun, "Zeytun," 225; Aghasi 1968, 387–89. Photograph in Galustian, *Marash*, 173. Nazaret Yenidünyayan was tortured in prison and buried in an unknown location without religious rites. "Such was the end of the hero, who once made the Turks tremble"; Galustian, *Marash*, 172–73. See also Hilmar Kaiser, ed., *Eberhard Count Wolffskeel von Reichenberg, Zeitoun, Mousa Dagh, Ourfa: Letters on the Armenian Genocide*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Gomidas Institute, 2004), 11.

128. This subject was recently studied by Arkun, "Zeytun"; and Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*.

129. Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 177; Arkun, "Zeytun," 240. Aghasi, who acted as a political activist in the 1895–96 rebellion, imputed the failure of Zeytun's 1915 resistance precisely to the fact that Nazaret Yenidünyayan had no politically savvy colleagues like himself (i.e., Aghasi) to advise him. Aghasi 1968, 322.

130. Arkun, "Zeytun," 231, 240.

131. The Catholicos Sahak II Khabayan visited Zeytun in June 1914 and communicated frequently through letters. Arkun, "Zeytun"; Aghasi 1968, 385.

132. Arkun, "Zeytun," 229.

133. These estimates are based on Arkun's painstaking comparison of the available evidence. Arkun, "Zeytun," 234.

134. Süleyman's rank was *binbaşı*. He was shot and killed by Aram Cholakian.

135. Arkun, "Zeytun," 234; Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 177–78. They were known as "Aram Bey's band" after their leader, Aram Cholakian. Photograph of the band: Galustian, *Marash*, 180.

136. Levon Khulmunian's personal history narrative, transcribed by Aris Aharonian and Harutiwn Aharonian, in *Zeytuni Patmagirk*, 958.

137. This is earlier than the date of April 24 commonly taken as the beginning of the genocide of the Ottoman Armenians. A detailed chronology of the deportation orders, on the basis of Ottoman official telegrams, is in Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 56–57.

138. The officer was Count Eberhard Wolffskeel von Reichenberg (1875–1954). Letter of Wolffskeel to his wife, April 17, 1915 (translated by Kaiser) in Kaiser, *Wolffskeel*, 13.

139. Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*.

140. Arkun, "Zeytun," 235.

141. Arkun, "Zeytun," 236; Andreasian, *Zeytuni Andznatuutiwne*, 21–22.

142. Letter of Wolffskeel to his wife, April 17, 1915 (translated by Kaiser), in Kaiser, *Wolffskeel*, 14.

143. Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 57, 188–89, 191: "A cable . . . sent on 20 april 1915 reports that Muslim refugees in Ayntab have begun to be sent to Zeytun"; Arkun, "Zeytun," 238.

144. Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 191.

145. Arkun, "Zeytun," 239.

146. He was either Fahri Pasha or Major Hursit. Arkun, "Zeytun," 239, with numerous sources; Galustian, *Marash*, 174.

147. Arkun, "Zeytun," 239.

148. Levon Khulmunian, in *Zeytuni Patmagirk*, 964. Arkun, "Zeytun," 239, on the fire in August 1915.

149. Passing through Marash: Kaiser, *Wolffskeel*; Arkun, "Zeytun," 236; Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 188.

150. Galustian, *Marash*, 185.

151. The poem is in Turkish rendered in the Armenian alphabet. The poet was a Zeytuntsi from the Middle Quarter. Karapet Gomuvian, *Zeytuni antseale* (Cairo: Haykakan Tparan Onnik Haleplian, 1918), unpaginated.

152. Arkun, "Zeytun," 238.

153. The mayor's name was Hayk Asmenian (also transliterated as Asminian). Arkun, "Zeytun," 236.

154. Quoted and analyzed in Arkun, "Zeytun," 240. The translation is Arkun's. On rifles in Zeytun: Dadrian, *History of the Armenian Genocide*, 127, and previous discussion of the Peabody-Martini rifles. On Bab Agha Basilosian, see also Galustian, *Marash*, 174; "*aghaneren amenen patkarelin*" (the most venerable of the aghas): Andreasian, *Zeytuni Andznatuutiwne*, 15; "Ulnioy Ekeghetsinere," 824.

155. Some branded the mayor, Asmenian, a traitor, "*azgurats*" (nation-abjuror), as in Andreasian, 13; and Galustian, *Marash*, 174. Others, like Andreasian, *Zeytuni Andznatuutiwne*, 11 and 17, provide a more nuanced assessment of the options as they appeared available to Zeytuntsis in early 1915.

156. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137.

157. This is the motivation mentioned by his relative Aram Shorvoghlian, who was in contact with Asadur Agha during his exile in Marash in late 1915 to early 1916: "*Awetarane irents prkiche ke nkater*." Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane," 2.

CHAPTER 4: MARASH

1. The Lion is located today at the Kahramanmaraş Archaeological Museum.

2. On the eve of World War I there was no train station at Marash. The nearest station was at Islahiye. After the war, the railroad was completed and a station was built at Marash. Stanley E. Kerr, *The Lions of Marash: Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1919–1922* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1973). For a recent study of the Ottoman railway, see Peter H. Christensen, *Germany and the Ottoman Railways: Art, Empire, and Infrastructure* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

3. Galustian, *Marash*, 824.

4. Galustian, *Marash*, devotes several chapters to the speech of the Armenians of Marash.

5. A great deal of material exists regarding the Catholic missionaries who were active in the province of Aleppo. They are not emphasized in this chapter since they played no role in the history of the Zeytun Gospels.

6. In German, Deutscher Hülfsbund für christliches Liebeswerk im Orient. For a history of the German missionaries, and the Salem German Hospital, see Galustian, *Marash*, 690–94. Varty Keshishian, "Marash: Folk Medicine," translated by Nayiri Arzoumanian, *Houshamadyan*, December 15, 2013, www.houshamadyan.org/tur/mapottomanempire/vilayetaleppo/maras-sancagi/local-characteristics/popular-medicine.html.

7. Before World War I the Americans in Marash were missionaries. Near East Relief only arrived in Marash after the war.

8. Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board in Turkey), Istanbul, "Personnel records for James K. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item no.13270, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/13270 (accessed September 25, 2013); and "Memorial records for James K. Lyman," Item no. 17224, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/17224 (accessed May 17, 2015).

9. In Armenian: Marashi Krtasirats Enkerutiwn, later Marashi Hayrenaktsakan Miwtiwn. A similar organization was established in Boston in 1912. Galustian, *Marash*, 877–78 (Boston), 885–87 (New York).

10. Often called Armeno-Turkish, this style reflected the fact that many Cilician Armenians were Turkophone, and it was the subject of much debate among Armenian intellectuals. For a contemporary perspective, see Babgen Episkopos [Babgen Kiwleserian?], "Hayere ew Tiwrk Lezun," in Artwazd Vardapet [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Tatew: Taretsoyts kronakan, banasirakan, grakan*, vol. 5 (Aleppo: Tpagr. "Araks," 1929), 5–34.

11. Hagop Atamian, "The Haunted Turk and the Story of an Illuminated Manuscript," in *The Cilician Armenian Ordeal,* edited by Paren Kazanjian (Boston: HYE Intentions, 1989), 100. This essay is a translated transcription of a 1977 interview of Hagop Atamian, presumably by Kazanjian. Hagop Atamian suffered a debilitating stroke about a year after this interview; he died in 1983. Author's phone conversation with Roger Hagopian, January 12, 2018. I thank Hagop Atamian's daughter, Sonia Atamian Reeves, and his great-nephew, Roger Hagopian, for their help in reconstructing their family history. Melkon Atamian's 1912–13 visit to the United States, and son Kirkor's residency in Massachusetts, are also documented in the Atamians' 1923 arrival record, in Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Ellis Island Archives, Passenger Manifest, SS Belgenland of the Red Star Line, from Cherbourg, arrived at Ellis Island, New York, on July 6, 1923. Dr. Melkon Atamian does not appear among Galustian's biographies of prominent physicians of Marash, but his brother-in-law, Dr. Janig Kalpakian (Chanik Galbagian, 1881–1933), does. Galustian, *Marash*, 913.

12. Kerr, *Lions*, 22; Arkun, "Zeytun," 236.

13. Harutiwn Ter Ghazarian [Harutiwn Der Ghazarian], "Anyayt kakhaghanner," *Nayiri* (Beirut), July 27, 1969, 5. Discussed in Kerr, *Lions*, 21. This article by Der Ghazarian is published in English translation in Paren Kazanjian, ed., *The Cilician Armenian Ordeal* (Boston: HYE Intentions, 1989), 211–14. For a discussion of the execution by firing squad of resistants from Fundijak (a mountainous town near Zeytun) on July 17, 1915, see H. Ter Ghazarian [Harutiwn Der Ghazarian], *Haykakan Kilikia: Teghagrut'iwn* (Beirut: Hratarakutiwn Marashi Hayrenaktsakan Miutean, 1966), 160–63 (henceforth Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*).

14. A coded telegram from Interior Minister Talaat Pasha dated May 23, 1915, instructs the deportation of Armenians from the provincial district of Marash but not from the city of Marash itself. BOA/DH.SFR, no. 53/94. The telegram is partially translated and analyzed in Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 192–93.

15. Kerr, *Lions*, 25; Galustian, *Marash*, 827–28.

16. Melkon Atamian and his family were spared exile: Atamian, 100.

17. Friendship with the Mutasarrif Ismail Kemal: Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137. His home was the meeting place: Avetis Malakian and Toros Toranian, eds., *Kilikioy ishkhane: Toktor Harutiwn Ter Ghazarian* (Aleppo: Marashi Hayrenaktsakan Miutiwn, 2012), 35. I thank Garo Derounian for helping me obtain a copy of this booklet.

18. The biographical information on Der Ghazarian is from Galustian, *Marash*, 938, unless otherwise stated. Malakian and Toranian, 20, give 1880 as the doctor's birth date. On the doctor's parents and sisters, see Malakian and Toranian, 20–21.

19. The nearest alternative was the hospital in Aintab. Der Ghazarian wrote a report on the German hospital in Marash at the eve of the war. Der Ghazarian, "Marashi Germanakan hiwandanotse," in *Taretsoyts bzhshkakan ew aroghjapahakan*, Year 1 (1914), 235, reprinted in Galustian, *Marash*, 690–94.

20. Galustian, *Marash*, 938, based on information provided by Der Ghazarian. Dr. Der Ghazarian was a four-star officer of the Ottoman army: Malakian and Toranian, 22, 27.

21. Knowledge of Arabic: Malakian and Toranian, 24.

22. For example, after treating the family of a pasha, instead of payment, Der Ghazarian accepted an ancient carpet with an Armenian inscription from the pasha's home. Malakian and Toranian, 30.

23. Sultan Abdul Hamid had sent the Surenians an imperial decree and a sabre in recognition of the Surenians' chivalrous treatment of the military officers captured from the barracks and held hostage during the insurrection of 1895. The information about the sabre, Asadur Surenian's appearance, and the *kiraatkhane* (*kıraathane* in modern Turkish), or reading room, of the American Missionary compound is from Aram S. Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane Inchpes Prkuetsaw," *Zartonk* (Beirut), August 5, 1967, 2.

24. "He considered the Gospels their [his family's] savior": *Awetarane irents prkiche ke nkater*. Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane," 2.

25. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137. Der Ghazarian managed to delay Talaat's order by three days: Dr. H. Ter-Ghazarian [Harutiwn Der Ghazarian], "Lusabanutiwn me 'Zeytuni awetarani masin'" *Haraj* (Paris), Thursday, August 3, 1967, 2 (henceforth Der Ghazarian 1967).

26. Roperd Chepechian [Robert Jebejian], *Inknakensagrutiwn, husher ew gordzuneutiwn* (Aleppo: Violette Jebejian Library, 1999), 24.

27. I have used the Armenian translation of the diary. A transcription of the diary in the present-day Turkish alphabet with supporting materials has also been published. Awetis Chepechian [Avedis Jebejian] (1876–1952), *Osmanean Kayserakan Banaki Spay, Bzhishk Awetis Chepechiani Oragire, 1914–1918* (Beirut: Hratarakutiwn Violet Chepechian Gradarani, 1986), 9 (henceforth Jebejian, *Oragir*). See also Ayhan Aktar, "Sunuş: Dr. Cebeciyan'ın Savaş ve Soykırım Günlüğü," in Avedis Cebeciyan [Avedis Jebejian], *Bir Ermeni subayın Çanakkale ve doğu cephesi günlüğü, 1914–1918* (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, [2015]), 13–25.

28. Jebejian called this officer "Meyer Pasha." Jebejian, *Oragir*, 28.

29. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 88.

30. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 51.

31. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 34.

32. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 21–30, 69, 76.

33. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 66.

34. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 83.

35. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 65. For the deportation of the Protestant Armenians of Marash, see Jebejian, *Oragir*, 66. That section describes the implementation of orders from Istanbul that have been studied in Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*, 394–95, note 70.

36. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 86.

37. Jebejian, *Oragir*, 65.

38. For a history of Cilicia in this period, see Vahé Tachjian, *La France en Cilicie et en Haute-Mésopotamie: Aux confins de la Turquie, de la Syrie et de l'Irak* (Paris: Karthala Editions, 2004).

39. Vahakn N. Dadrian and Taner Akçam, eds., *Tehcir ve Taktil. Divan-ı Harb-i Örfî Zabıtları: İttihad ve Terakki'nin Yargılanması, 1919–1922* (Istanbul: Bilgi Ünivesitesi Yayınları, 2008), published in English as *Judgment in Istanbul: The Armenian Genocide Trials* (New York: Berghahn Books 2011).

40. See Robert Jebejian's memoirs: Roperd Chepechian [Robert Jebejian], ed., *Geghard: Suriahay taregirk,* vol. 5: *Patmakan ejer Suriahay Mayr Gaghuti keanken* (Aleppo: Violette Jebejian Library, 1996) (henceforth Jebejian, *Geghard 5*), 23–24.

41. Sykes, *Dar-ul-Islam*. The meeting with the Armenian community was held at the home of one of the most respected Armenians of Aleppo, Dr. Altunian, the director of a private hospital. On the two diplomats' visit to Aleppo, see K. Watenpaugh, *Being Modern*, 145–47.

42. Jebejian, *Geghard 5*, 29.

43. On the Légion Arménienne, see Tachjian, *La France en Cilicie*; Keith D. Watenpaugh, "Towards a New Category of Colonial Theory: Colonial Cooperation and the Survivors' Bargain—The Case of the Post-Genocide Armenian Community of Syria under French Mandate," in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2004), 597–622.

44. On Armenians in the Ottoman military, see Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide.*

45. This section is based on Elliott's memoir and on her letters from Marash preserved at Drexel University College of Medicine. Mabel Evelyn Elliott (1881–ca. 1944), *Beginning Again at Ararat* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1924) (henceforth Elliott). On Elliott and the humanitarian movement in which she participated, see Keith David Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones: The Middle East and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 91–113.

46. Kerr, *Lions*, 72–77.

47. Letter from Mabel Elliott to Mary Crawford, Marash, September 2, 1919. Drexel University College of Medicine, Records of American Women's Hospitals 1917–1982 (ACC-144), Near East Correspondence, Item No. a144_010.

48. Elliott, 66.

49. Elliott, 66.

50. Elliott, 66–67. Elliott mentions two sisters, but Der Ghazarian actually had seven sisters.

51. Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*. This book is a collection of articles Der Ghazarian published over many years.

52. For example, while on medical business near the Göl Başı area, Der Ghazarian investigated some medieval sites, correcting errors made by previous geographers. Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*, 104, 105.

53. For instance, "The city of Honi is today a pile of ruins, and nearby a small Kurdish village." Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*, 121.

54. Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*, xi.

55. For instance, he described the villages of the Cilician plains, specifying Greek, Armenian, Aramean, Assyrian, Alevi, and Turkoman communities and lineage groups. Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*, 65.

56. Elliott, 67.

57. Grandfather: Malakian and Toranian, 20. The Vardapet (archmandrite) Khachadur Der Ghazarian was Dr. Der Ghazarian's father's brother: Der Ghazarian 1967. Another example that shows Dr. Der Ghazarian's attachment to the church: his book *Kilikia* is dedicated to the Catholicos Zareh I Payaslian, a native of Marash, and includes a preface by a Prelate.

58. Before the war, Der Ghazarian hosted Armenian Revolutionary Federation leader Simon Zavarian at his home. He was also a member of a very different organization, the Marash branch of the Armenian General Benevolent Union. Malakian and Toranian, 34. It appears that after the war, and certainly in his later life in Aleppo, Der Ghazarian was no longer active in the Armenian Revolutionary Federation.

59. Elliott, 68.

60. Elliott, 90, mentions these "measures" but does not detail them.

61. I have chosen these accounts because they are most relevant to the history of the Zeytun Gospels and the individuals involved in it. Many other eyewitness narratives of the Battle of Marash exist; see Galustian, *Marash*; Kerr, *Lions*; Tachjian, *La France en Cilicie.*

62. Harutiwn Der Ghazarian, "Kilikean namakani. Kilikean depkere karewor vaweragrutiwn me," *Pahak* (Boston), June 5, 1920, 2–3; June 8, 1920, 3. Reprinted in Galustian, *Marash*, 813–18. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter."

63. Der Ghazarian drew this map from memory in Aleppo in 1929. It was published in Galustian, *Marash*. It served as the basis for the city map published in Kerr, *Lions*.

64. Rape and murder of Pepron Der Ghazarian (1889–1919) and its devastating effects on the surviving Der Ghazarian sisters: Malakian and Toranian, 20–21.

65. Der Ghazarian, "Kilikean namakani," in Galustian, *Marash*, 814.

66. See a photograph of Marash burning, taken by Stanley Kerr in February 1920, looking south from the American compound. Kerr, *Lions*, plate [8] in unnumbered pages of plates inserted between pages166 and 167.

67. Kerr, *Lions*, 123–24, citing several eyewitness accounts; Der Ghazarian, "Kilikean namakani," in Galustian, *Marash*, 815–16; Atamian, 101–2.

68. The American Red Cross nurse Frances Buckley, who directed the Beitshalom Orphanage, recorded in her diary her joy at seeing Dr. Artin alive when he checked on her and her charges during a lull in the fighting. Kerr, *Lions*, 156.

69. The burning of the Der Ghazarian home, with relatives trapped inside: Malakian and Toranian, 31.

70. "A valuable national antiquity": *azgayin tangarjek hnutiwn me*. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137.

71. The withdrawal remained controversial among French colonial officials. Tachjian, *La France en Cilicie.*

72. Kerr, *Lions*, 160–61. For a discussion of the letter Kerr wrote to his family that night, and further context, see K. Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones,* 1–2, 100–106.

73. Elliott, 134.

74. Elliott, 135.

75. Eyewitness account of Vergine Toros Mayikian, b. 1989, Marash, Testimony no. 148, in Verjine Svazlian, ed., *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors*, translated by Tigran Tsulikian and Anahit Poghikian-Darbinian (Yerevan: National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia, 2011). The same detail (horses' hoofs covered with felts) appears in the eyewitness account of Karapet Tozlian, b. 1903, Zeytun, Testimony no. 139, in Svazlian, *Armenian Genocide.*

76. Kerr, *Lions*, 162.

77. Kerr, *Lions*, 173.

78. Elliott, 135.

79. Kerr, *Lions*, 173–74.

80. Atamian, 102. The twin girls appear in the family's Ellis Island record, where their names are listed as Arika and Araksi. Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Ellis Island Archives, Passenger Manifest, SS Belgenland of the Red Star Line, from Cherbourg, arrived at Ellis Island, New York, on July 6, 1923.

81. Kerr, *Lions*, 174.

82. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137. The information about the Persian shawl appears in Der Ghazarian 1967.

83. "Panic everywhere, dead bodies on all sides": *amen tegh sarsap, amen koghm merelner*. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137.

84. The detail about the "*patnesh*" (translatable as parapet, wall, barricade, or ditch) appears in Der Ghazarian 1967.

85. Elliott, 136.

86. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137.

87. Elliott, 128.

88. Kerr, *Lions*, 174.

89. Elliott, 133.

90. Elliott, 136.

91. One of them, Haykuhi, who ran until she fell from exhaustion, was taken to the municipal prison. Kerr, *Lions*, 174, and 291 note 18. Of the seven Der Ghazarian sisters, apart from Pepron who was murdered in 1919, all survived and left Marash. Malakian and Toranian, 20.

92. Kerr, *Lions*, 181; Atamian, 102.

93. Kerr, *Lions*, 201–2.

94. Atamian, 102.

95. Kerr, *Lions*, 207.

96. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter."

97. This is a verse from a poem by a survivor of the battle. Verjine Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide in the Memoirs and Turkish-Language Songs of the Eye-witnesses*, translated by Tigran Tsulikian (Yerevan: Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute, 1999).

98. Two accounts of the actions of this Turkish man have come down to us. One is an eyewitness account recorded by Hagop Atamian in 1977. Hagop was present when

the Turk told his story; therefore, I take his account to be reliable. The second account comes from Dr. Der Ghazarian. The doctor relates what he was told by his uncle, Father Khachadur Der Ghazarian, who I take to be a reliable witness as well. The two accounts have many striking commonalities. They also diverge in some points, which I explicate below.

99. In Hagop Atamian's recollection, the Turk says that he broke into a church and found the manuscript on a bookstand. Atamian, 102. This is unlikely, because we reliably know that the Zeytun Gospels had fallen down during the Der Ghazarians' flight in the streets. The likelihood that someone would have picked it up and placed it in a church bookstand amid the confusion and danger of the Battle of Marash is nil. I speculate that either Atamian's recollection of the book's find spot is faulty, or the Turk stated the location of the find inaccurately, either because he only dimly remembered a night of violence and mayhem or he chose to present this version of events for reasons of his own.

100. See the discussion of the Zeytun Gospels' binding in Chapter 3, "Zeytun."

101. The nightmare is described in similar terms in Atamian, 103; and Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137. "*Ermeni murakhkhasi*" (*murahhası* in modern Turkish) appears in Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137.

102. This account is based on Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137; and Der Ghazarian 1967. The 1936 account makes no mention of Melkon Atamian.

103. Children sold for one or two *mejidiye*s: Yervant Odian, *Accursed Years: My Exile and Return from Der Zor, 1914–1919*, translated by Ara Stepan Melkonian (London: Gomidas Press, 2009), 99.

104. In Turkish, "*Dişci Melkon*." Atamian, 102.

105. For instance, "The Mutasarrif of Marash [in 1916], Ismail Kemal . . . my close friend"; Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137. Or, "On the fifth day of these events [the Battle of Marash], the Armenians from [seven mixed neighborhoods] were slaughtered by the minions of [Marash notable] Bayazitzade Shukru and the sons of Kadir Pasha"; Der Ghazarian, in Galustian, *Marash,* 814.

106. Kerr, *Lions*, 241.

107. Two examples of such mutilated manuscripts are discussed in Merian, "Protection against the Evil Eye?" 83–84.

108. Surmeyan Catalog 1935, vi; further discussed in Chapter 5, "Aleppo."

109. Atamian, 103.

110. Kerr, *Lions*, 249–50.

111. Atamian, 103. Years later, after learning that the Canon Tables had been separated from the mother manuscript, Dr. Der Ghazarian hypothesized that the Turk must have shown the manuscript to Melkon Atamian before showing it to Father Khachadur, and that Melkon Atamian must have removed the holy pages at that time. Der Ghazarian 1967.

112. "We can only speculate as to the moral emptiness that must have existed in that individual at the moment that he made the choice to irreparably tear out those pages from the over 700 year-old manuscript." Levon Kirakosian, Review of "Chasing Aphrodite" by Felch and Frammolino, *Asbarez*, July 19, 2011, http://asbarez.com/97123/book-review-chasing-aphrodite-the-hunt-for-looted-antiquities-at-the-world's-richest-museum/. Basing himself on Der Ghazarian 1967, Kirakosian asserts that the Canon Tables was removed from the manuscript by Melkon Atamian.

113. Der Ghazarian 1967 states that this receipt (*statsagir*) was deposited in the Armenian Prelacy of Aleppo. I have not been able to consult this document or to ascertain its existence. The legal documents filed in *Western Prelacy v. Getty* made no mention of this receipt. In legal documents, the attorneys for the Armenian Church stated that Father Khachadur entrusted the Zeytun Gospels to Lyman before his final exile from Marash. Second Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial, Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church v. J. Paul Getty Museum, No. BC 438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. filed Aug. 1, 2011), p. 7, section 26.

114. Atamian, 103.

115. Other than Father Khachadur and Melkon, it is unclear who the other recipients of the receipts were. The motif of the receipt or receipts provided by Lyman appears in Malakian and Toranian, 33 (Lyman offers to buy the manuscript) and 34 (seven receipts). The accounts in Malakian and Toranian, which do not specify which manuscript was involved in the receipts, appear to be based on hearsay and rumors decades removed from the actual events, so I consider them unreliable for reconstructing the events of the 1920s. They do, however, provide evidence of the recurring motif of the receipt, as well as the importance of the memory of the Zeytun Gospels, and sacred manuscripts generally, among the Armenian refugees in Aleppo.

116. Kerr, *Lions*, 254.

117. Atamian, 103.

118. Der Ghazarian 1967.

119. Atamian, 103, states that the family left Aleppo for the United States in July 1923. This is corroborated by the family's arrival date as recorded at Ellis Island: July 6, 1923.

120. Atamian, 103.

121. Elliott, 136. Der Ghazarian worked at the Near East Relief Hospital in Adana from February 1920 to August 1921, as shown in a document reproduced in Malakian and Toranian, 60.

122. Kerr, *Lions*, 241–54; Galustian, *Marash*, 827–30.

123. Galustian, *Marash*, 831.

124. Galustian, *Marash*, 832.

125. Jebejian, *Geghard 5*, 40.

126. A document regarding the doctor's training in Germany indicates that he was in Frankfurt between December 1921 and February 1922. Malakian and Toranian, 23, 61.

127. Khachadur Der Ghazarian is listed in this capacity for the year 1928–29. Surmeyan, *Tatew 5*, 381. The Church of the Holy Cross operated in the refugee camp in the years 1923–37. It was later replaced by the Church of Saint George in Nor Giwgh, the neighborhood where the Armenian refugees settled permanently.

128. Dr. Der Ghazarian's name appears in Robert Jebejian's list of medical professionals in Aleppo, described as a pathologist and ophtalmologist. Jebejian, *Geghard 5,* 443.

129. Moat Street, or Shari^{c} al-Khandaq, was a prestigious address in an area of Aleppo that had been modernized in the waning years of the Ottoman Empire. It was a wide street lined by apartment buildings and shops that had replaced part of the ancient city's ramparts and moat. On Dr. Artin's medical practice in Aleppo, see Malakian and Toranian, 22–23.

130. *The Lions of Marash* is based on Kerr's own letters, woven with his decades-long research on the events he had witnessed as a young American, incorporating contemporaneous diaries, interviews, and written sources in Armenian, Turkish, and French. See also K. Watenpaugh, *Bread from Stones*.

131. Galustian, *Marash*, 842, features a photograph of the executive committee of Aleppo's Marash Compatriotic Union, including Dr. Der Ghazarian; see also 844. Malakian and Toranian, 37–39, 42–43.

132. Bishop Garegin, "Introduction," in Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*, xi.

133. Der Ghazarian, *Kilikia*, 254.

134. Elliott, 136–37.

135. He continued to write about the traumatic events he witnessed; for example, in 1969, Der Ghazarian, "Anyayt kakhaghanner."

136. Der Ghazarian 1967. Dr. Der Ghazarian told and retold the story of the Zeytun Gospels to friends, as recollected in Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane"; and Malakian and Toranian, 33–34.

137. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137.

138. Der Ghazarian 1967.

139. Der Ghazarian 1967.

CHAPTER 5: ALEPPO

1. The description of Aleppo's infamous Sabil camp is from a survivor account published in 1919: Yervant Odian, *Accursed Years: My Exile and Return from Der Zor, 1914–1919*, translated by Ara Stepan Melkonian (London: Gomidas Press, 2009), 99–100; For further analysis, see Keith David Watenpaugh, "'Are There Any Children for Sale?' Genocide and the Transfer of Armenian Children (1915–1922)," *Journal of Human Rights* 12:3 (2013), 283–95.

2. The title of one of the chapters in part 5, Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, is "Aleppo: the Center of the Genocidal System and of Relief Operations for the Deportees." Khatchig Mouradian, "Genocide and Humanitarian Resistance in Ottoman Syria, 1915–1916," *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 7 (2016), 87–103.

3. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide,* 641.

4. The attorney Artin Boshgezenian was the deputy from Aleppo in the Constitutional period (post-1908). Ayhan Aktar, "Debating the Armenian Massacres in the Last Ottoman Parliament, November–December 1918," *History Workshop Journal* 64:1 (2007), 241–70.

5. For the archbishop's name, I am using the spelling he himself used in the Latin alphabet, "Ardavazt Surmeyan." Alternative romanizations of his name from the Armenian script include Artawazd Siwrmeian or Siwrmeean. The circumstances in which Surmeyan handled the Zeytun Gospels remain obscure, as discussed below.

6. On "pauperization": Uğur Ümit Üngör and Mehmet Polatel, *Confiscation and Destruction: The Young Turk Seizure of Armenian Property* (London: Continuum, 2011), chap. 4, 63–105. Taner Akçam and Ümit Kurt, *The Spirit of the Laws: The Plunder of Wealth in the Armenian Genocide* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2015), 9–10. For a recent legal analysis of the dispossession of targeted groups, see Rajika L. Shah, "The Making of California's Art Recovery Statute: The Long Road to Section 338(c)(3)," *Chapman Law Review* 20:1 (2017), 82–93.

7. Kévork K. Baghdjian, *La confiscation, par le gouvernement turc, des biens arméniens . . . dits "abandonnés"* (Montreal: [s.n.], 1987), discusses such a receipt, and another is

illustrated in Bedross Der Matossian, "The Taboo within the Taboo: The Fate of 'Armenian Capital' at the End of the Ottoman Empire," *European Journal of Turkish Studies* (2011), http://ejts.revues.org/index4411.html.

8. "Special Organization": Teşkilat-ı Mahsusa.

9. For a specific example, see Üngör and Polatel, 71.

10. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 200. Additional studies on the confiscation of Armenian property include Akçam and Kurt; Nevzat Onaran, *Emvâl-i Metrûke olayı: Osmanlı'da ve Cumhuriyet'te Ermeni ve Rum mallarının Türkleştirilmesi* (Istanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2010); and Hrayr S. Karagueuzian and Yair Auron, *A Perfect Injustice: Genocide and Theft of Armenian Wealth* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2009).

11. "A national economy": *milli iktisat*. See Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 190–99.

12. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide,* 203; Raymond H. Kévorkian and Yves Ternon, eds., *Mémorial du génocide des Arméniens* (Paris: Seuil, 2014), 146. For an overview of the "Abandoned Properties" laws, see Akçam and Kurt, 19–33.

13. Temporary Law of 26 September 1915: Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 204; Kévorkian and Ternon, 146–48; Akçam and Kurt, 24–29.

14. Regulation of 8 November 1915: Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 204; Kévorkian and Ternon, 148; Akçam and Kurt, 25.

15. Akçam and Kurt, 4–5, argue that the Armenian Genocide did not take place outside of Ottoman law, but rather that the perpetrators used the legal system to implement the genocide.

16. Üngör and Polatel, 6, argue that one should not reproduce the Young Turk regime's vocabulary of euphemisms.

17. A local commission was called an *emvâl-ı metrûke komisyonu*.

18. On these internal contradictions, see Akçam and Kurt, 8–9; and Der Matossian, "Taboo," 7.

19. In the terminology of the state, "deportees" designated Armenians, while *muhacirs* ("migrants" or "immigrants") designated Muslim refugees from the Balkans. Akçam, *Young Turks' Crime*.

20. Üngör and Polatel, chap. 5 (Adana) and chap. 6 (Diyarbekir); Hilmar Kaiser, "Armenian Property, Ottoman Law and Nationality Policies during the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1916," in *The First World War as Remembered in the Countries of the Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Olaf Farschid et al. (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2006), 49–71; Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*; each of the regional chapters discusses the local "Abandoned Properties Commissions."

21. Akçam discerned six different categories of beneficiaries; see also Üngör and Polatel, 10.

22. There were also forced sales. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 559.

23. Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Garden City: Doubleday, Page, 1918), 339. This section of Morgenthau's memoir later inspired attorneys in Los Angeles to institute lawsuits to recover Armenian Genocide era insurance policies; see Chapter 8, "Los Angeles."

24. See the official statement of the National Security Council (Milli Güvenlik Kurulu) as quoted in Nuray Babacan, "Tapu arşivlerini 'sınırlı' kullanın," *Hürriyet,* September 19, 2006, www.hurriyet.com.tr/tapu-arsivlerini-sinirli-kullanin-5109117. The translation of the quote is from Üngör and Polatel, x; also discussed in Akçam and Kurt, 3–4.

25. Vazken-Khatchig Davidian, *Treasured Objects: Armenian Life in the Ottoman Empire 100 Years Ago* ([London]: Armenian Institute, 2012).

26. Vazken-Khatchig Davidian, "Reframing Ottoman Art Histories: Bringing Silenced Voices Back into the Picture," *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 6 (2015), 7–17; Gizem Tongo, "Artist and Revolutionary: Panos Terlemezian (1865–1941) as an Ottoman Armenian Painter," *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 6 (December 2015), 111–53.

27. The laws are detailed in Akçam and Kurt, 23–28. The Law of 8 November, Article 16, gave the right to dispose of schools, monasteries, and all the furnishings within these establishments to the Ministry of Education. Kévorkian and Ternon, 148.

28. Distribution of Armenian *vakıf* properties to *muhacir*s: Law of 26 September 1915, Article 9, in Kévorkian and Ternon, 146–47. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 204.

29. "Objects, pictures and holy books" located in churches are addressed in the Law of 10 June 1915, Article 6, as well as the Law of 26 September 1915. Akçam and Kurt, 23–24, 27.

30. Translated and analyzed by Simon Payaslian in "The Destruction of the Armenian Church during the Genocide," *Genocide Studies and Prevention* 1:2 (Fall 2006), 161. Original quote is from Republic of Armenia, State Central Historical Archives, Doc. 58, f. 57/2/2021, Report concerning the Armenian situation in Jerusalem, Bishop Kut Mkhitarian, Jerusalem, to Catholicos Kevork V, Mother See, Echmiadzin, 3 January 1918. Published in Sandro Behbudyan, ed., *Vaveragrer Hay Ekeghetsu Patmutyan*, vol. 4: *Sahak 2. Khapayean, Katoghikos kilikioy (1891–1940 tt.)* (Yerevan: Voskan Yerevantsi, 1997), 227–31.

31. An additional Catholicos had his seat at Aghtamar in Van Province. The office was active from the twelfth century until 1915 when it was abolished by the Ottoman government. In the nineteenth century, Armenian Catholics and Protestants were removed from the jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople.

32. Payaslian, "Destruction of Church," 160.

33. Sahag II remained in Jerusalem until August 1916. Payaslian, "Destruction of Church," 160. See also Dickran Kouymjian, "Cilicia and Its Catholicosate from the Fall of the Armenian Kingdom to 1915," in *Armenian Cilicia*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2008); and Teodik [Teotig], *Goghgota hay hogeworakanutean ew ir hotin aghetali 1915 tariin*, edited by Ara Galaychian (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1985).

34. For example, the governor of Konya demolished the Armenian church on the citadel of Konya along with a nearby Armenian school. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 1, unpaginated [i].

35. Examples are in Üngör and Polatel, 82–83, 114.

36. Dickran Kouymjian, "Confiscation and Destruction: A Manifestation of the Genocidal Process," *Armenian Forum* 1:3 (Autumn 1998), 1–12; Baghdjian, *Confiscation*, 270–83; Raymond H. Kévorkian and Paul B. Paboudjian, *Les Arméniens dans l'Empire Ottoman* à *la veille du génocide* (Paris: Editions d'art et d'histoire, 1992).

37. Reproduced in Baghdjian, *Confiscation*, 270–83; discussed in Kouymjian, "Confiscation and Destruction."

38. Kouymjian, "Confiscation and Destruction."

39. Georg Ter-Vardanian, a curator at the Matenadaran, arrived at this estimate on the basis of calculations of numbers of manuscripts needed for liturgical needs in Ottoman Armenian churches. "Tseghaspanutyan patcharov korstyan matnvats dzeragir-

matyanneri tive karogh e gerazantsel 30 hazare," *Armenpress*, March 5, 2015, http://armenpress.am/arm/news/796472/hayoc-cexaspanutyan-pattcharov-korsats-dzeragir-matyanneri.html.

40. Scholars have put forth different hypotheses as to how many of the registers of the "Abandoned Properties Commissions" exist and their whereabouts today; no one has been able to study them. Der Matossian, "Taboo," note 36.

41. See Chapter 3, "Zeytun."

42. The village was called Temran. İ. Hakkı Sunata [1892–?], *Gelibolu'dan Kafkaslara: Birinci Dünya Savaşı Hatıralarım* (Istanbul: İş Bankası, 2003), 290–91. I thank Fatma Müge Göçek for bringing this account to my attention. The translation is Göçek's.

43. Cited in Üngör and Polatel, 71.

44. Georg Ter-Vardanian, "Tseghaspanutyan patcharov."

45. For example, the municipal Kars Museum displays several objects with Armenian inscriptions, but the wall text does not acknowledge the Armenian provenance. On Turkish museums in general, see Özge Sade-Mete, "A Fragmented Memory Project: Archaeological and Ethnographic Museums in Turkey, 1960–1980," Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 2012.

46. On the thirty manuscripts, see Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 44, 55–56. On Partridge's eyewitness accounts of the Armenian Genocide in Sivas, see among others Susan Billington Harper, "Mary Louise Graffam: Witness to Genocide," in *America and the Armenian Genocide of 1915*, edited by Jay Winter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 214–39; and Helen Sahagian, "Mary Louise Graffam, Ernest C. Partridge, and the Armenians of Sivas," in *Armenian Sebastia/Sivas and Lesser Armenia*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2004).

47. The quotes are from a letter Kelsey wrote in 1918. Quoted in Kathryn Babayan and Melanie Tanielian, "'Now or Never': Collecting, Documenting, and Photographing World War I in the Middle East" [exhibition booklet], January 14–April 24, 2015, University of Michigan Library, p. 5.

48. The names of the two women have not been preserved. One of them delivered her half of the manuscript to priests in Echmiadzin, while the other buried her half in Erzerum, from where it was later retrieved. Additional detached folios of the manuscript have come to light in recent years. Mush Homiliarium or Msho Charentir, Matenadaran Ms. 7729, see [Steven Sim], "Surp Arakelots Vank—Holy Apostles Monastery," www.virtualani.org/arakelots/index.htm.

49. The member of parliament was Dikran Barsamian. Translated and cited in Üngör and Polatel, 95, from *Meclis-i Mebusan Zabıt Ceridesi* (Ankara: TBMM Matbaası, 1992), period 3, vol. 1, assembly year 5, meeting 23, 9 December 1918, 257–58. See also Der Matossian, "Taboo," 11. For broader discussion of the Ottoman parliamentary debates in 1918 on the Armenian question, see Ayhan Aktar, "Son Osmanlı Meclisi ve Ermeni Meselesi: Kasım-Aralık 1918," *Toplum ve Bilim* 91 (2002), 142–66.

50. Der Matossian, "Taboo," 11 note 48.

51. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 4, 751–55.

52. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 756, note 101.

53. Awetis Aharonian and Boghos Nubar, *Tableau approximatif des Réparations et Indemnités pour les dommages subis par la Nation arménienne en Arménie de Turquie et dans la République arménienne du Caucase* (Paris: Imp. P. Dupont, 1919), discussed in Kouymjian, "Confiscation and Destruction"; Der Matossian, "Taboo." For the broader context of

the Armenian question at the Paris Peace Conference, see Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 763–74.

54. Vahagn Avedian, "State Identity, Continuity, and Responsibility: The Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey and the Armenian Genocide," *European Journal of International Law* 23:3 (2012), 812.

55. On citizenship laws, see Akçam and Kurt.

56. Üngör and Polatel; Mehmet Polatel et al., *2012 beyannamesi: İstanbul Ermeni vakıflarının el konan mülkleri* (Istanbul: Hrant Dink Vakfi, 2012); Marashlian, "Finishing the Genocide"; Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-genocide Turkey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

57. Kouymjian, "Confiscation and Destruction." Simon Payaslian, "The Institutionalization of the Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia in Antelias," in *Armenian Cilicia*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian and Simon Payaslian (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2008), 582, with additional references.

58. Ekmekçioğlu, *Recovering Armenia*; Talin Suciyan, *The Armenians in Modern Turkey: Post-genocide Society, Politics and History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).

59. The Catholicos Sahag II was exiled again in November 1921 soon after the Treaty of Ankara of 1921 enshrined the Kemalist Turkish takeover of the Cilician see's traditional jurisdiction. Payaslian, "Institutionalization of the Catholicosate," 560–61.

60. Payaslian, "Institutionalization of the Catholicosate," 565–66.

61. Quoted in Payaslian, "Destruction of Church," 579, translated by Payaslian. Originally published in Catholicos Sahag II Khabayan, "Srtis Kskitse," *Hask* 5:9–10 (September–October 1936), 109–12. *Hask* was the periodical of the Catholicosate in Antelias.

62. Siamanto's birth name was Adom Yarjanian. Surmeyan's mother was a Yarjanian. Zaven V[ardapet] Yegavian, "Preface to the Reprint Edition," in Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Patmutiwn Halepi Hayots*, vol. 1: *Suria* (Aleppo: Kilikia, 2002), reprint edition, unpaginated.

63. Yegavian, "Preface"; Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Aramiani ew Kedronakani usutsichners: takawin tarm hishatakner* (Marseille: Imp. E. Armen et Compagnie, 1950).

64. Yegavian, "Preface"; Surmeyan, *Aramiani usutsichners*; Tigran Siwrmeian [later Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Ertoghrul* (Istanbul: Tpagrutiwn Manuk Y. Gochunian, 1914).

65. Yegavian, "Preface," notes that he was conscripted in 1914 and again in 1917, with no further details.

66. There is no indication that Surmeyan himself belonged to any Armenian political organization. Ara Sarafian, "What Happened on 24 April 1915? The Ayash Prisoners," *Gomidas Institute Blog*, April 22, 2013, http://gomidas.org/submissions/show/5.

67. This information appears is Teodik [Teotig], *Amenun Taretsuytse, 1916–1920* (Istanbul: G. Keshishian, 1920), 115, 118; Sarafian, "What Happened on 24 April 1915?" Krikor Surmeyan's exile in lieu of his son is also noted in Yegavian, "Preface."

68. An autograph note on the copy of Surmeyan's *Ertoghrul* at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris is signed as "*abeghay*" (the lowest rank of celibate priesthood) and dated December 1918; Yegavian, "Preface."

69. He held this position for two years. Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Patmutiwn Halepi Hayots*, vol. 3: *1355–1908* (Paris: Imprimerie Araxes, 1950), introduction (henceforth Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 3); Yegavian, "Preface."

70. The governor, named Muammer, had ordered the destruction of the Armenian Church of the Holy Mother of God on the citadel of Konya, along with the Armenian school at the foot of the citadel. Brief history of the Armenians of Konya; reflections on his years in Konya: Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 1, unpaginated [i].

71. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 3, xi.

72. The monthly periodical of the Armenian Patriarchate was called *Hay Khosnak*. Yegavian, "Preface"; Surmeyan, *Arameani usutsichners*.

73. Surmeyan's arrival in Aleppo and ordination as bishop by Catholicos Sahag II: Yegavian, "Preface."

74. Some changes to the jurisdiction of the Prelacy of Aleppo were made in the 1920s and 1930s. Payaslian, "Institutionalization of the Catholicosate."

75. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 3, ix. Vahram L. Shemmasian, "Humanitarian Intervention by the Armenian Prelacy of Aleppo during the First Months of the Genocide," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 22 (2013), 127–52.

76. On the discrimination and violence Armenian refugees faced in Aleppo, see K. Watenpaugh, "New Category of Colonial Theory."

77. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 3, x (emphasis mine).

78. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 1, i.

79. The annual he edited in the 1920s and 1930s, *Tatew*, is at once a religious journal, a literary-artistic magazine, a collection of obituaries, and a report on the prelacy's activities.

80. Surmeyan Catalog 1935, ix.

81. "Our heart aches": *ke kottay*; "the years of terror": *arhawirk*; "booty": *awar*. Surmeyan Catalog 1935, vi.

82. Surmeyan Catalog 1935, vi.

83. Surmeyan Catalog 1935, vi.

84. "Authentic national antiquities": *azgayin vawerakan hnuteants tesaketov*. Surmeyan Catalog 1935, vi.

85. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137.

86. These include a monograph on a single manuscript, a Psalter dated 1319, published in 1933, and a two-part catalog published in 1935 and 1936. Surmeyan, *Nkaragir;* Surmeyan Catalog 1935; Surmeyan Catalog 1936.

87. Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Patmut'iwn Halepi azgayin gerezmanatants ew artsanagir hayeren tapanakareru* (Aleppo: Tpagr. A. Ter Sahakian, 1935).

88. "Just as I had almost finished this, I found a new group of Armenian manuscripts in Aleppo"; Surmeyan Catalog 1936, [vii]. An additional fifty-four manuscripts come to light: [viii]. Additional manuscripts appear: 115.

89. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 3, [xiii].

90. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 40.

91. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 55–56.

92. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 129.

93. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter."

94. See Chapter 4, "Marash."

95. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 138. I thank Elizabeth Morrison, curator of medieval art at the Getty, for bringing Surmeyan's comment on the Carpianus portrait to my attention.

96. Under "Marginal Motifs," Surmeyan notes the presence of many marginal images without detailing them. Under "Illustrations," he states that no images appear

apart from the portraits of the Evangelists, perhaps meaning full-page or half-page images. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 139–40.

97. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 139.

98. "Without any losses": *arants voyeve pakasi*. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 138. Surmeyan noted the presence of sixteen *khoran*s, by which he means a fully illuminated page with an architectural frame. Thus the sixteen khorans he counted correspond to the following folios: 3v and 4r (Eusebius letter); the eight folios of the Canon Tables, today at the Getty; 5v and 6r (dedication); 8r (beginning of the Gospel of Matthew); 124r (beginning of the Gospel of Mark); 195r (beginning of the Gospel of Luke); 312r (beginning of the Gospel of John). The total is sixteen folios. The folio numbers are those of the pagination used at the Matenadaran.

99. Surmeyan wrote that he had not visited Cilicia before 1925, when as Prelate of Aleppo he made a formal visit to the sanjak of Alexandretta, then under French control, but did not cross into the Republic of Turkey, where Marash was located at that time. Artawazd Arkepiskopos [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Paghrasi Berde: Mer Arshawanke Berdin Mej* (Aleppo: Impr. A. Ter-Sahakian, 1937). There is no other evidence that Surmeyan ever visited Marash.

100. In this scenario we can further hypothesize that the archbishop reproduced the colophons from Der Movsisian's 1913 article, which he cites, or from the copies made by the Mekhitarist Fathers in Venice. But if this was the case, it seems out of character for Surmeyan not to clarify that he had not viewed the manuscript in person, especially as he points out the shortcomings of Der Movsisian's discussion of the Zeytun Gospels precisely due to the fact that Der Movsisian had never viewed the Zeytun Gospels. Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 136.

101. In her research on the Canon Tables, Getty curator Elizabeth Morrison considered, but rejected, the following possibility: that when Surmeyan saw the Zeytun Gospels, it may have included, in the place of the missing pages, a replacement set of Canon Tables that an unknown person may have inserted in order to make the Gospels complete. This is an intriguing possibility, but nothing substantiates it; in addition, one assumes Surmeyan would have immediately spotted the replacement Canon Tables. I thank Elizabeth Morrison for discussing this with me.

102. Artawazd Siwrmeian [Ardavazt Surmeyan], *Patmut'iwn Halepi Hayots*, vol. 1: *Suria* (Aleppo: Tp. Ani, 1940); vol. 2: *Halep* (Beirut: M. Magsutian, 1946); vol. 3: *1355–1908* (Paris: Imprimerie Araxes, 1950).

103. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 1, ii–iii.

104. Surmeyan, *History*, vol. 1, iv (emphasis mine).

CHAPTER 6: NEW YORK

1. The children were twin daughters Arika and Araksi, seven, and sons Harutyun, eighteen, also a dentist, Hagop, sixteen, and Nazaret, thirteen (the ship manifest spells their names as Melkone, Nazar, Arakssi). Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Ellis Island Archives, Passenger Manifest, SS Belgenland of the Red Star Line, from Cherbourg, arrived at Ellis Island, New York, on July 6, 1923. Perhaps the twin girls' age was recorded erroneously in the ship manifest, for according to Hagop Atamian they were born in February 1920. Atamian, 102.

2. Their relative in Aleppo was named Kevork Mesrobian. The address given for Melkon's son Kirkor Atamian was 411 Centre Street, Newton, Massachusetts. Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Ellis Island Archives, Passenger Manifest, SS

Belgenland of the Red Star Line, from Cherbourg, arrived at Ellis Island, New York, on July 6, 1923.

3. The assumption that the Canon Tables arrived in the United States in 1923 is based on the 1923 ship manifest, which is the only evidence I have found of Melkon Atamian or Hagop Atamian entering the United States after the Zeytun Gospels left the custody of Dr. Der Ghazarian in February 1920. There is another possible but unsubstantiated scenario: that Atamian did not bring the pages with him in 1923 but rather left them behind, that he returned to Turkey or Syria after 1923 and then back to the United States, and that he brought the Canon Tables with him at that later date. Attorneys for the Getty, in their version of the Canon Tables' provenance included in legal papers, maintain that the Canon Tables arrived in the United States in 1923. Defendants' Answer to the Unverified Second Amended Complaint, Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church v. J. Paul Getty Museum, No. BC438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. filed December 5, 2011), p. 1, section 3.

4. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 339.

5. Melkon Atamian and his eldest son, Krikor (spelled Kirkor in the Ellis Island ship manifest), figure on a list of subscribers to a memory book about Marash that was published in 1934. Galustian, *Marash*, 943. Krikor served on the executive committee of the Boston branch of the Marash Compatriotic Union. Galustian, *Marash*, 877.

6. The dates are based on Hovsepian's arrival in New York on April 8, 1936 (Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 327), and the date of publication of Hovsepian's study: 1943. By then Melkon Atamian had passed away. Some details on the Atamians appear in *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Deposition of Arthur D. Davidian (Father Dajad Davidian), Cambridge, Mass., March 31, 2015. Father Davidian, a native of Worcester, Massachusetts, served as pastor of Saint James Armenian Church in Watertown from 1969 to 1999.

7. Garegin Hovsepian, "Kostandin A. Katughikos," in Hovsepian, *Niwter ew usumnasirutiwnner hay aruesti ew mshakoyti patmutean*, vol. 2 (New York: [s.n.], 1943), 42 (henceforth Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine"). The photographers were Ovsia Yeramian and Mr. Jelalian.

8. On Surmeyan, see Chapter 5, "Aleppo." Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 26, cites Surmeyan's 1936 Catalog. The two archbishops knew each other and shared a deep interest in art and medieval manuscripts. Hovsepian contributed scholarly articles to *Tatew*, the annual publication Surmeyan edited in Aleppo; for a list of these articles, see *Tatew* 5 (1929), 387.

9. " . . . The Gospels of Zeytun, however, unfortunately we do not have any photographs of it"; Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 38.

10. The story Nazaret Atamian told Hovsepian has consistent points with the account his brother Hagop gave decades later: "My father [Melkon Atamian] made many efforts to find that illuminated manuscript. He was told that the American missionaries to whom he had entrusted the book had all been able to get safely out of Marash but that they could not be located"; Atamian, 103.

11. It is not clear from Hovsepian's text whether Hovsepian himself or Atamian queried the missionary, or when this exchange took place.

12. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 42.

13. For Hagop's perspective on the events, see Atamian, 100–104.

14. "From 1931 to 1934, the work among Moslems grew, and a number professed Christianity. Mr. Lyman was accused of propaganda, but was acquitted. Still, the . . . Lymans were compelled by the Government to leave Marash, after disposing

of personal and Mission properties"; Amerikan Bord Heyeti [American Board in Turkey], Istanbul, "Memorial records for James K. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item no.17224, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/17224 (accessed May 17, 2015).

15. According to his personnel record and the "memorial records," Lyman interrupted his stay in Marash to return to the United States in 1922–September 1924, 1930, and 1939–1945. He was otherwise in Marash continuously from September 1913 until 1934. Amerikan Bord Heyeti [American Board in Turkey], Istanbul, "Personnel records for James K. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #13270, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/13270 (accessed September 25, 2013); Amerikan Bord Heyeti [American Board in Turkey], Istanbul, "Memorial records for James K. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item no. 17224, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/17224 (accessed May 17, 2015).

16. On Bessie M. Lyman (née Hardy) (1882–1981), see Amerikan Bord Heyeti [American Board in Turkey], Istanbul, "Personnel records for Bessie M. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item no. 13269, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/13269 (accessed September 25, 2013).

17. Biographical information on Hovsepian is derived mostly from an issue of *Hask* 17 (July–September 1952) dedicated entirely to Hovsepian; and from Minassian, *Armenian Church*.

18. Hovsepian studied theology at the University of Leipzig between 1890 and 1894 and published a doctoral thesis in German in 1897: Garegin Ovsepian [Karekin Hovsepian], "Die Entstehusngeschichte des Monothelestismus nach ihren Ovellen gepruft u. daregestellt," listed in Garegin Hovsepian, *Niwter ew usumnasirutiwnner hay aruesti ew mshakoyti patmutean*, vol. 2 (New York: [s.n.], 1943), 67. Goltz and Göltz, 172; Minassian, *Armenian Church,* 324.

19. Member of Imperial Society nominated by the archaeologist Nikolai Marr: Hakop Martaian, "Garegin Katoghikos vorpes hnaget-banaser," *Shoghakat* 1:6 (June 1952), 196.

20. His earliest publication in 1892 is a recension of local variants of the popular epic *The Daredevils of Sasun*: Garegin Sargawag Hovsepian [Karekin Hovsepian], *Sasmay Dzrer* (Tiflis: Tparan M. Sharatse, 1892). Years later in New York in 1939, Hovsepian celebrated the millennial of this epic. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 368.

21. Among the scholars of Armenian manuscripts in the early twentieth century, he was not unique in using this tool—Der Movsisian also made photographs of manuscript paintings—but his systematic archive was innovative.

22. Surmeyan published some rare photographs in his catalogs of manuscripts, mostly portraits of church leaders and donors. Two photographs of colophons appear in Surmeyan, *Nkaragir.*

23. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 16. Der Movsisian also followed this path of research travel from Echmiadzin to the Ottoman Empire decades earlier.

24. Roslin's Gospels of 1262 is today "Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. 539." Hovsepian had this manuscript photographed as well. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 28.

25. Five out of seven of Roslin's signed works were located in Jerusalem at the time. "I have a color photograph, photographed from the original by the famous photographer Yeghishe Tadeosian, whom we were accompanied by in 1914 on our scholarly mission to Jerusalem." Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 34.

26. For example, a mission to the monastery on the island of Ktuts on Lake Van: Georg Ter-Vardanian, cited in "Tseghaspanutyan patcharov"; and Suren Golanchian et al., *Yegherne yew mer dzeragreri korustnern u prkutiwnnere*, edited by Georg Ter-Vardanian (Echmiadzin: Mayr Ator Surb Echmiatsin, 2016).

27. In the Armenian Apostolic Church, the feast of Ghevontiants that celebrates Ghevont Yeretz (Saint Leontus) and the other priests at the Battle of Avarayr occurs in the week that precedes the feast of Vartanants, which celebrates Vartan and the military martyrs of Avarayr.

28. Hovsepian was promoted to bishop in May 1917. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 325. Hovsepian was a member of the committee for the preservation of the antiquities of Armenia along with such luminaries as Aleksandr Tamanian, Ashkharbek Kalantar, and Toros Toramanian. In 1921 he was appointed member of the Science Institute of Armenia. Martaian, "Garegin Katoghikos," 196.

29. Minassian, *Armenian Church*; Ben Alexander, "Contested Memories, Divided Diaspora: Armenian Americans, the Thousand-Day Republic, and the Polarized Response to an Archbishop's Murder," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 27:1 (2007), 32–59.

30. Alexander, "Contested Memories."

31. Quoted in Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 331.

32. The non-Echmiadzin faction aligned itself with the Catholicosate of Cilicia in the 1950s. Alexander, "Contested Memories," 48.

33. The tricolor flag of the First Armenian Republic had become a flashpoint as it came to index the Tashnag-led First Armenian Republic and became a symbol of opposition to the Armenian SSR, with its own distinct flag. Other contentious symbols were the celebration of May 28 as the independence day of the First Armenian Republic, and even April 24 commemorations of the Armenian Genocide. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 334; Alexander, "Contested Memories," 38–39. Upon declaring independence in 1990, the Republic of Armenia revived the tricolor flag.

34. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 336–37.

35. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 372–76.

36. Translated by and quoted in Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 376, note 1041.

37. This vision was realized when Saint Vartan Cathedral was consecrated in 1968.

38. The two had met previously in Istanbul. Sylvia Agémian, ed., *Archives Sirarpie Der Nersessian*, vol. 1 (Antelias: Catholicossat Arménien de Cilicie, 2003), 26.

39. Garegin Hovsepian [Karekin Hovsepian], *Hishatakarank dzeragrats* (Antelias: Tparan Katoghikosutean Hayots Kilikioy, 1951).

40. "*Mer manrankarchakan medz gordzi hamar*": Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 34, see also 43.

41. Hakob Oshakan [Hagop Oshagan] [1883–1948], *Arewelahay banasirutiwne ew Ejmiatsin: Garegin Katoghikos Hovsepian* (Antelias: Tparan Katoghikosutean Hayots Kilikioy, 1948), 77 (emphasis mine).

42. Oshakan, *Arewelahay banasirutiwne.*

43. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 26. Reference to Surmeyan's description of the Zeytun Gospels: 38.

44. "Most lavishly illustrated": Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 52.

45. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 29.

46. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 28–29. See the online catalog and provenance of Ms. 539, with contributions by Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Amy Landau, Theo Maarten van Lint, et al.,

www.thedigitalwalters.org/Data/WaltersManuscripts/html/W539/description.html (accessed December 2, 2017).

47. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 29.

48. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 44, referring to the Lantern of the Illuminator (*Lusavorchi kantegh*).

49. His centrality in the New York art world is reflected in the exhibition "Kelekian: As the Artist Sees Him," shown at the Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York, in 1944, where nineteen noted contemporary artists, like Milton Avery and André Derain, created portraits of the man known as the "dean" of New York art dealers of the time. Marianna Shreve Simpson, "A Gallant Era': Henry Walters, Islamic Art, and the Kelekian Connection," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2001), 91–112; Marilyn Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America," *Ars Orientalis* 30 (2000): 69–89.

50. "The Armenian and the Armenian," written in 1935, published in William Saroyan, *Inhale and Exhale* (New York: Random House, 1936), 437–38.

51. Garegin Hovsepian [Karekin Hovsepian], "Erku Khosk," in Hovsepian, *Niwter ew usumnasirutiwnner hay aruesti ew mshakoyti patmutean*, vol. 2 (New York: [s.n.], 1943), i (emphasis mine).

52. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 376–82; Payaslian, "Catholicosate in Antelias," 582–85.

53. Revitalization of the seminary: Payaslian, "Catholicosate in Antelias," 583–85; publications: 589.

54. Minassian, *Armenian Church*, 377–82. Payaslian, "Catholicosate in Antelias," 582–83. Catholicos Karekin II Sarkissian initiated the Cilicia Museum: Goltz and Göltz, 179; Sylvia Agémian, *Manuscrits arméniens enluminés du Catholicossat de Cilicie* (Antelias: Edition du Catholicossat arménien, 1991).

55. On Der Nersessian's biography, see Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, "Sirarpie Der Nersessian: Educator and Scholar in Byzantine and Armenian Art," in *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts: 1820–1979* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 329–56; Nina G. Garsoïan, "Sirarpie Der Nersessian," in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, vol. 3, edited by Helen Damico (New York: Garland, 2000), 287–305; "Chronologie," in Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 11–46; and Dickran Kouymjian, "Sirarpie Der Nersessian (1896–1989): Pioneer of Armenian Art History," in *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, edited by Jane Chance (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 482–93.

56. She displayed his photograph: Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 7; she kept an archive of articles about Ormanian: 17.

57. Anahide Ter Minassian, "Les Arméniens au 20e siècle," *Vingtième siècle. Revue d'histoire* 67 (2000), 147; Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 829 note 113.

58. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 65.

59. Maghakia Ormanian [Malachia Ormanian], *Azgapatum; Hay ughghapaṛ ekeghetsvoy antskere skizben minchew mer orere*, 3 vols. (Istanbul: Hratarakutiwn V. ew H. Nersesian, 1913–1927).

60. Ter Minassian, "Les Arméniens," 147.

61. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*, 675; Maghakia Ormanian [Malachia Ormanian], *Khohk ew khosk: ir keankin verjin shrjanin mej* (Jerusalem: Tparan Srbots Hakobeants, 1929).

62. A. Frolow, "Gabriel Millet (d. 8 mai 1953)," *Revue des études byzantines* 12 (1954), 294–98.

63. Henri Focillon, *La vie des formes* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1934), many reprintings.

64. Christina Maranci, *Medieval Armenian Architecture: Constructions of Race and Nation* (Louvain: Peeters, 2001); Talinn Grigor, "Orient oder Rom? Qajar 'Aryan' Architecture and Strzygowski's Art History," *Art Bulletin* 89:3 (2007), 562–90; Kouymjian, "Der Nersessian," 487.

65. Helen C. Evans, "Cilician Manuscript Illumination: The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries," in Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*, 66–83; Alice Taylor, "Armenian Illumination under Georgian, Turkish, and Mongol Rule: The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries," in Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*, 84–103; Priscilla P. Soucek, "Armenian and Islamic Manuscript Painting: A Visual Dialogue," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society: Papers Delivered at the Pierpont Morgan Library at a Symposium . . .* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library; Seattle: Distributed by the University of Washington Press, 1998), 115–31.

66. On this archive, see Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, DC, Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives, Sirarpie Der Nersessian Papers and Photographs, 1939–1966 (ICFA), Finding Aid, www.doaks.org/library-archives/icfa/dernersessian.pdf (accessed December 2, 2017). On the connection between photography and art history, see Donald Preziosi, *Rethinking Art History*: *Meditations on a Coy Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 72.

67. Kouymjian, "Der Nersessian," 483.

68. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits arméniens illustrés des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles de la Bibliothèque des pères Mekhitharistes de Venise*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1936–37).

69. Later, one of these works, the Malatya Gospels of 1268, was transferred to the Matenadaran as Ms. 10675.

70. Matenadaran, Ms. 10450 (Zeytun Gospels), Letter of Eusebius to Carpianus, fols. 3v–4r (numbers based on the Matenadaran pagination). Der Nersessian did not mention the damage to the portrait of Carpianus in Sirarpi Ter Nersesian [Sirarpie Der Nersessian], "Toros Roslin yew Zeytuni Awetarane," *Shoghakat* 1:6 (1952), 139–41 (henceforth Der Nersessian, "Zeytuni Awetarane"). This was later published in a French translation: Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Toros Roslin et l'évangile de Zeytoun," *Études byzantines et arméniennes; Byzantine and Armenian studies* (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1973), vol. 1: 559–62; vol. 2: figs. 316–17. The damaged portrait of Carpianus is noted in Surmeyan Catalog 1936, 138.

71. The blank folios are Matenadaran, Ms. 10450, fols. 4v–5r. I thank Helen Evans for discussing the blank folios phenomenon with me; personal communication to the author, New York, February 19, 2015.

72. The Canon Tables, now at the Getty Museum, would have originally been located between Ms. 10450 fol. 4v and fol. 5r.

73. The dedication appears on Ms. 10450, fols. 5v–6r. The dedication is published in Matevosyan, *Hishatakaranner*, 286.

74. Der Nersessian, "Zeytuni Awetarane," 141.

75. Der Nersessian, "Zeytuni Awetarane," 139. The Patriarch at the time was Karekin I Khachadurian.

76. This—Lyman's conviction that the holy book belonged to Zeytuntsis—would also explain Lyman's reluctance to discuss the Zeytun Gospels with those who made inquiries about the manuscript during his visits home to New Hampshire. Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 42. Indeed, he maintained absolute discretion about the book except in his communications with the Zeytun Compatriotic Union.

77. Aram Shorvoghlian, a member of the Zeytun Compatriotic Union in Aleppo, recalled in 1967 that possibly around 1928 Lyman sent a verbal message to the Zeytun Compatriotic Union indicating that the Zeytun Gospels was in his custody and that he was prepared, upon a written request from the Compatriotic Union, to pass it on to a place or person as indicated. Due to some doubts about the veracity of the verbal message, the Zeytuntsis did not respond at that time. Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane," 2. See also Second Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial, *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, p. 7, section 26.

78. Vard-Mekhak, *Zeytuni nahanje* (Istanbul: Tpagr. H. Vanlian, 1922), 53–54; Norashkharhyan, *Zeytune*, 271.

79. Lyman probably visited Aleppo from Marash more than once. There is evidence that he visited Aleppo in late 1927 or early 1928. See Letter from Lyman (Marash) to Dr. Artin Der Ghazarian (Aleppo), February 13, 1928, reproduced in Malakian and Toranian, 62. The letter does not mention the Gospels.

80. The legal document does not specify when these communications between Lyman and the Zeytun Compatriotic Union took place. Second Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial, *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, p. 7, section 27. To my knowledge there are two reports about these discussions with Lyman, and they likely form the basis of the version outlined in the legal document above. One report comes from Aram Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane," dated 1967. He was part of the central executive committee of all Zeytun Compatriotic Unions and participated in the meeting between the Zeytuntsis and Lyman in Aleppo. Lyman reminded the Zeytuntsis that it was illegal to remove antiquities from Turkey, so the Zeytun Gospels should not be taken from Marash to Aleppo, as they were now in separate countries. He suggested instead that upon written instructions from the Zeytuntsis, he would entrust the Zeytun Gospels to a designated individual in Marash, or he could transfer it to the Bible House in Istanbul or the Armenian Patriarchate there. The Zeytuntsis chose the third option and eventually received word that the Zeytun Gospels had indeed reached the patriarchate. A second report comes from Der Ghazarian 1967, published in the same year. Shorvoghlian and Der Ghazarian knew each other in Aleppo after the genocide. However, in the 1960s, while Der Ghazarian remained in Aleppo, Shorvoghlian moved to Beirut, and there is no evidence that they were aware of each other's articles on the Zeytun Gospels. Der Ghazarian states that Lyman took the Gospels from Marash to Istanbul at "our" request (*mer dimumin vra*). Presumably "our" refers to the Zeytun Compatriotic Union, even though that group is not referenced by name. It is also possible that here Der Ghazarian wrote "our" in the sense of "we Armenians," rather than referring to a specific group or organization.

81. Second Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial, *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, p. 8, section 27.

82. "Later we received word that the Gospel Book had reached the patriarchate safely"; Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane." Der Ghazarian 1967 also indicates that he knew Lyman took the Gospels to the Patriarchate in Istanbul. Neither specified when they received this information.

83. James Lyman was buried in Feriköy Protestant Cemetery in Istanbul. Bessie Lyman died in 1981. Amerikan Bord Heyeti [American Board in Turkey], "Personnel records for James K. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item no. 13270, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/13270 (accessed September 25, 2013); Amerikan Bord Heyeti [American Board in Turkey], "Personnel records for Bessie M. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item no. 13269, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/13269 (accessed September 25, 2013); Amerikan Bord Heyeti [American Board in Turkey], "Memorial records for James K. Lyman," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item no. 17224, www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/17224 (accessed May 17, 2015); Bessie Lyman's grave: www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=97218638.

84. For examples, see Kerr, *Lions*, 143, 202.

85. *Marmara* (Istanbul), June 26, 1967. This clipping is preserved in Sirarpie Der Nersessian's archives: Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 123. Why *Marmara* reprinted the article that had appeared in *Shoghakat* fifteen years earlier is unknown; it is perhaps related to the fact that the Zeytun Gospels was taken from Istanbul to Yerevan in that year.

86. "Compatriotic pride": *hayrenaktsakan nakhantsakhndrutiwn.* Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane." Shorvoghlian's article appeared in the Beirut newspaper *Zartonk.* See also Aram Shorvoghlian, *Zeytuni verjin diwtsazne Aram pek Cholagian: 1915–1921* (Aleppo: Sewan, 1980).

87. Der Ghazarian 1967. Der Ghazarian does not specify which article by Der Nersessian prompted his own. I assume that he was more likely to have read Der Nersessian's article in *Marmara* in 1967 rather than *Shoghakat* in 1952, as *Marmara* was a better-distributed newspaper. I also assume that he is responding to Der Nersessian's *Shoghakat/Marmara* article, because Der Nersessian did not publish anything else on the Zeytun Gospels that revealed the book's presence in Istanbul until the French translation of the same article was published in 1973. Der Nersessian conserved clippings of both the reprint of her own article in *Marmara* as well as Der Ghazarian's 1967 response in her research file on the Zeytun Gospels. Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 123.

88. Der Ghazarian 1967.

89. He "cut out" (*mkratelov*) several pages in an "undetectable manner" (*anchanacheli kerpov*). Der Ghazarian 1967.

90. The Nazaret Atamian of Watertown who possessed the Gospels for many years must have been only around eleven years old in February 1920, as the ship manifest that brought him to Ellis Island informs us that Nazaret Atamian was thirteen in July 1923. It seems likely that Der Ghazarian was unaware of Hovsepian's 1943 article, which describes the Canon Tables and mentions that Nazaret Atamian had received them from his father, the dentist Melkon Atamian of Marash. The article he did read, Der Nersessian's essay of 1952, did not name the older Atamian but rather only Nazaret Atamian, leading perhaps to Der Ghazarian's assumption that Nazaret Atamian

was the person who separated the Canon Tables from the manuscript. One wonders whether Der Ghazarian would plausibly have recognized the older Atamian's name: the dentist Melkon Atamian and the surgeon Artin Der Ghazarian probably knew each other in Marash. For an alternative version of events leading to the separation of the Canon Tables from the Zeytun Gospels, see Atamian, 100–104.

91. It is likely that Der Ghazarian was unfamiliar with Hovsepian's 1943 article and learned about the separation of the Canon Pages from the mother manuscript only when he read Der Nersessian's article.

92. Der Ghazarian 1967.

93. The art historical survey produced the impression that Byzantine art was a "cultural cul-de-sac in art history's teleology." Robert S. Nelson, "Living on the Byzantine Borders of Western Art," *Gesta* 35:1 (1996), 3–11.

94. "[In this presentation] Armenia is to Byzantium as Byzantium is to Western Europe, i.e., the Oriental's Oriental." The chronological inversion was present in Armenian art as well; thus some art histories positioned the work of Toros Roslin in discussions of earlier periods rather than its historical moment of the mid-thirteenth century. Nelson, "Byzantine Borders," note 8.

95. Annemarie Weyl Carr, "Introduction," in Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, xvi.

96. "[The book] is at once a precise and ample study of the period and an encyclopedic compendium on Armenian art in general and the history of the medieval Armenian kingdom." Kouymjian, "Der Nersessian," 489.

97. Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 44, citing a 1986 interview with *Haratch* (Paris). The book was essentially complete at her death; the Lebanese Armenian art historian Sylvia Agémian edited it and readied it for publication.

98. As pointed out in Kouymjian, "Der Nersessian," 486.

99. Der Nersessian, "Reliquaire de Skevra."

100. Carr, "Introduction," xiii.

101. Der Nersessian uses medieval names for localities, rarely referring to contemporary Turkish place names, further distancing the medieval past.

102. This is true of *Miniature Painting*. In her catalogs for manuscripts in museum collections, Der Nersessian provided some additional information regarding provenance, though very succinctly. For example, Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1963), 27, or 43.

103. Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*.

104. Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 123.

105. Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 45. The book was Yves Ternon, *Enquête sur la négation d'un Génocide* (Marseille: Editions Parenthèses, 1989).

106. Sinclair Lewis, *Our Mr. Wren: The Romantic Adventures of a Gentle Man* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1914), 24–25. See also Hrag Vartanian, "Tracking Armenians in New York," *AGBU Magazine*, April 2002, https://hragvartanian.com/2017/08/06/tracking-armenians-in-new-york/.

107. Der Nersessian's research files on the Kelekian collection indicate that she had studied them since the 1930s. Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 236.

CHAPTER 7: YEREVAN

1. Der Ghazarian, "1936 Letter," 137, does not mention the name Toros Roslin but rather recalls the patron: "*Kostandin Bardzrberdtsii ays hoyakap . . . awetarane*."

2. Der Ghazarian 1967.

3. For an exceptional seventeenth-century mention of Roslin, see Chapter 2, "Hromkla." Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 51.

4. Mesrop Ter-Movsisian, "Haykakan Manrankarner. Lewon G. Tagawori, Keran ew Mariun Taguhineri ew Lambronean Vasak Ishkhani Manrankarnere," *Azgagrakan Handes* 20:2 (1910), 4–32 (henceforth Ter-Movsisian 1910). On Ter-Movsisian (1865–1939), see Georg Ter-Vardanian, *Mesrop Magistros Arkepiskopos Ter-Movsisian: Kensagortsuneutiwn, "Endhanur tsutsak hayeren dzeragrats," matenagitutiwn* (Yerevan: Magaghat Hratarakchutiwn, 1999).

5. He illustrates this point through examples such as the church at Aghtamar and the statue of King Gagik at Ani excavated by Marr.

6. "*Hayastani charabakht patmakan kyanke*," Ter-Movsisian 1910, 10.

7. Ter-Movsisian 1910, 32.

8. "Manuscript in the church of Holy Mother of God in Zeytun, written in . . . 1256. . . . We only have at hand 2 [of its] colophons"; Mesrop Ter-Movsisian, "Haykakan Manrankarner. Kilikean Hayots tagaworneri ew Kostandin A Katoghikosi hamar gruats dzeragrer," *Azgagrakan Handes* 24:1 (1913), 66 (henceforth Ter-Movsisian 1913).

9. Ter-Movsisian 1910, 11; Ter-Movsisian 1913, 79.

10. The same expression appears in several colophons. Ter-Movsisian 1913, 69, 75. In the Zeytun Gospels: "*grchi Torosi makanun Rawsli kochetseloy est nakhneats*"; Yerevan, Matenadaran Ms. 10450, fol. 403a, published in Matevosyan, *Hishatakaranner*, 285. In Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 252, fol. 326r: "*anarjanutiwns Torosi, makanun Rowslin kochetseloy.*" The medieval spelling *Rawsli* is rendered *Roslin* in modern Armenian, the letter *o* being phonetically equivalent to *aw*; similar to Oshin/Awshin, they appear to have become interchangeable around this time.

11. Ter-Movsisian 1910, 32.

12. "Armenized European": *hayatsats yewropatsi*. Ter-Movsisian 1913, 79.

13. Kouymjian, "Der Nersessian," 489.

14. On Sargis Pitsak, see Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 126–53. On Trdat, see Christina Maranci, "The Architect Trdat: Building Practices and Cross-Cultural Exchange in Byzantium and Armenia," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62:3 (2003), 294–305.

15. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 51.

16. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 51 note 3.

17. Carr, "Introduction," xiv. On the pigments used in Roslin's manuscripts, see Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*, 128–30, 135–42.

18. Carr, "Introduction," xv.

19. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 75.

20. Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings and Priests to Merchants and Commissars* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 283–87.

21. Quoted in Panossian, *Armenians*, 287.

22. Panossian, *Armenians*, 283. See also Taline Ter Minassian, *Colporteurs du Komintern: l'Union soviétique et les minorités au Moyen-Orient* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 1997); Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin, eds., *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Ronald Grigor

Suny, *The Revenge of the Past: Nationalism, Revolution, and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); and Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

23. The expression "*tournant mémoriel*" is from Boris Adjemian and Raymond Kévorkian, "Témoignages de rescapés et connaissance du génocide de 1915–1916: La constitution des fonds d'archives arméniens et leurs usages historiographiques," *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 5 (2015), 79–111.

24. Panossian, *Armenians*; Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

25. On the repatriation (*nergaght*), see Sevan Nathaniel Yousefian, "The Postwar Repatriation Movement of Armenians to Soviet Armenia, 1945–1948," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2011; and Jo Laycock, "Survivor or Soviet Stories? Repatriate Narratives in Armenian Histories, Memories and Narratives," *History and Memory* 28:2 (2016), 123–51.

26. Archbishop Shnorhk Kalustian (also spelled Shnork Kaloustian) served as Patriarch of Constantinople between1963 and 1990. He visited Echmiadzin many times, where he died after an accident. The information that Patriarch Shnorhk took the manuscript to Echmiadzin in 1967 is given in Defendants' Answer to the Unverified Second Amended Complaint, *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, No. BC438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. filed December 5, 2011), p. 3, section 11. The information that Catholicos Vazken received the manuscript during his pontifical visit to Istanbul in 1969 appears in a news report based on interviews with researchers at the Matenadaran: Lilit Martirosyan et al., "Prkvadz Tseragrer. Zeytuni Avetaran," 1TV Hanrayin Herustaenkerutyun [Public TV Company of Armenia], June 21, 2015, https://youtu.be/lCzSdGGJsyI.

27. The Zeytun Gospels entered the Matenadaran as a gift from Catholicos Vazken in October 1969, according to an intake document. Author's conversation with Georg Ter-Vardanian, chief curator at the Matenadaran, Yerevan, July 24, 2012. Indeed, the summary catalog of the holdings of the Matenadaran lists Ms. 10450 (the Zeytun Gospels) as a gift from Catholicos Vazken in 1969. A. Malkhasian, *Tsutsak Dzeragrats Mashtotsi Anuan Matenadarani*, edited by A. Ter-Stepanian, vol. 3 (Yerevan: Erewani Hamalsarani Hratarakchutiwn, 2007), 24, 42. I have not been able to find any mention of the Zeytun Gospels in the 1967–69 issues of Echmiadzin's official journal, *Echmiadzin*, which often recorded such gifts. For example, a long article that discusses Vazken Catholicos's gift of the seventh-century Vehamor Gospels (Ms. 10680) to the Matenadaran lists some of the Catholicos's previous gifts to the Matenadaran, including Roslin's Zeytun Gospels, without providing a date for the donation. "Vehapari Avetarane," *Echmiadzin* 35:5 (1978), 34–51.

28. In 1982 the Catholicos established a dedicated Treasury-Museum within the Echmiadzin compound, named after its benefactors from Detroit, Michigan, Alex and Marie Manoogian. It is similar to the Kilikia Museum in Antelias, where holy objects are displayed as works of art. www.armenianchurch.org/index.jsp?sid=1&id=106&pid=4&lng=en

29. Babken L. Chookaszian and Levon Zoryan, "Matenadaran," in *Haykakan Sovetakan Hanragitaran*, vol. 7 (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH Gitutyunneri Akademia, 1981), 284–86.

30. On the design of modern Yerevan, see Talinn Grigor, "Transient Constructs: Soviet Monuments and Those of Their 'Enemies,'" in *Enemies of Empire: New Perspectives*

on Imperialism, Literature and History, edited by Eóin Flannery and Angus Mitchell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), 113–29; and Taline Ter Minassian, *Erevan, La construction d'une capitale* à *l'époque soviétique* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2007).

31. For example, one of the sculptures depicts Frik, a medieval poet who was a commoner and wrote in the vernacular. Georg Ter-Vardanian et al., eds., *Levon Khachikyan 90: nyuter Matenadarani himnadir tnoreni tsnndyan innsunamyakin nvirvats mijazgayin gitazhoghovi, 9-11 Hoktemberi 2008 t.* (Yerevan: Nairi, 2010).

32. The statue was sculpted by Arsham Shahinyan in 1967.

33. The fragment, the portrait of Prince Levon, had been cut out and pasted on to a page in Matenadaran Ms. 7690. See A. Gevorkyan, "Levon Errord Tagavori Avetarane," *Banber Matenadarani* 8 (1967), 145–56; Hovsepian, "Catholicos Constantine," 20; and Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 54. Levon Chookaszian, "Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Levon (M. Erevan 8321)," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 25 (1994–95), 299–335; Levon Chookaszian, "Once Again on the Subject of Prince Lewon's Portrait," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 10 (1998–99), 29–44.

34. Irina Drampian, *Un évangile cilicien du cercle de Thoros Roslin* (Yerevan: Izd-vo AN Armianskoi SSR, 1978), 1, 13 note 3. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 55, with further references.

35. Drampian, *Evangile cilicien*, 13 note 2.

36. Drampian, *Evangile cilicien*, 1; Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 55.

37. The colophon by Hohannes is on fol. 100. English translation by Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 55.

38. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 55. The earlier colophon appears on fol. 310v.

39. The later paper page bore the writing of a later scribe. Matenadaran Ms. 5458, fol. 235v.

40. The additional pages from 1266 were cataloged with some fragments as Matenadaran Ms. 1454. Artashes Matevosyan, "Hetum A tagavori Roslinyan Avetarani norahayt masunknere," *Banber Matenadarani* 13 (1980), 275–94.

41. For a discussion of this term's significance, see Chookaszian, "Once Again," 32.

42. Lydia A. Dournovo [Liddia Aleksandrovna Durnovo], *Miniatures arméniennes,* preface by Sirarpie Der Nersessian (Paris: Éditions Cercle d'art, [1960]); and its English translation, *Armenian Miniatures*, translated by Irene J. Underwood (New York: Abrams, [1961]). See also L. A. Durnovo [Liddia Aleksandrovna Durnovo] et al., *Hin Haykakan Manrankarchutyun* (Erevan: Haykakan SSR Petakan Hratarakchutyun, 1952).

43. For example, L. A. Durnovo [Liddia Aleksandrovna Durnovo], *Haykakan Manrankarchutyun*, edited by Ruben Grigori Drampyan (Yerevan: Hayastan Hrat., 1967); Levon Azaryan, *Kilikyan manrankarchutyune tasnerkuerord-tasnerekerord darerum* (Yerevan: Haykakan SSR GA Hratarakchutyun, 1964); Drampian, *Evangile cilicien*; and L. B. Chugaszyan [Levon Chookaszian], *Toros Roslin* (Erevan: Sovetakan Grogh, 1985). Irina Drampian more recently devoted a monograph to Toros Roslin: I. R. Drampian, *Toros Roslin* (Yerevan: Tigran Mets, 2000).

44. Drampian, *Evangile cilicien*, is actually a lecture given at an international symposium; its typescript was translated into multiple languages and distributed.

45. Agémian, *Archives Der Nersessian*, 40–41; L. B. Chugaszyan [Levon Chookaszian], "Hayagitutyan yerakhtavornere. Sirarpi Ter Nersesian," *Lraber hasarakakan gitutyunneri* 12 (1989), 86.

46. Levon Ter-Petrossian's ancestors hailed from the Musa Dagh region of Cilicia (sanjak of Alexandretta).

47. John E. Bowlt, "Some Thoughts on the Condition of Soviet Art History," *Art Bulletin* 71:4 (1989), 542–50. Vardan Azatyan, *Arvestabanutyun ev azgaynakanutyun: Mijnadaryan Hayastani ew Vrastani arvestnere 19-20-rd dd.* (Yerevan: Aktual Arvest, 2012). Angela Harutyunyan, "Art History and the Challenge of Apprehending the Familiar: A Conversation with Vardan Azatyan," *ArtMargins Online*, October 20, 2015.

48. Chugaszyan [Chookaszian], *Toros Roslin*.

49. For example, Levon Chookaszian, "Cilician Book Painting: Miniatures of Toros Roslin and Italian Art," *Atti del quinto Simposio Internazionale di Arte Armena, Venezia-Milano-Bologna-Firenze, 1988, 28 maggio–5 guigno* (San Lazzaro-Venezia: Tipo-litografia armena, 1992), 321–22; Levon Chookaszian, "The Motif of the Sphinx in the Decoration of Manuscripts Illuminated by T'oros Roslin," in *Between Paris and Fresno: Armenian Studies in Honor of Dickran Kouymjian*, edited by Barlow Der Mugrdechian (Costa Mesa: Mazda, 2008), 65–90; and Chookaszian, "Remarks on the Portrait of Prince Levon."

50. Levon Chugaszyan [Levon Chookaszian], "Toros Roslini 'Tovmayi Anhavadutyune' manrankare," *Banber Matenadarani* 16 (1994), 35; Chookaszian, "Once Again," 35, 43.

51. Levon Chookaszian, "Life and Works of Toros Roslin," Armenian Studies at California State University, Fresno, Armenia Digital Project, http://armenianstudies.csufresno.edu/ArmeniaDigitalProject/biography/biography.html (accessed November 3, 2013). Chookaszian's view about Roslin's Scottish ancestry seems to have found an audience close to the attorneys involved in genocide reparations litigation, and is extensively quoted in an anonymous article whose author, I believe, was Vartkes Yeghiayan, the lead attorney in *Western Prelacy v. Getty*. "The Eight Orphan Pages of the Zeytun Gospels," *Armenian Bar Association Newsletter* 26:1 (Winter 2015), 11.

52. Written by none other than the Matenadaran's director: L. S. Khachikyan, "Toros Roslini dzeragri verjin hangrvane," *Garun* 4 (1976), 55–62.

53. Especially following Der Nersessian's 1952 article in *Shoghakat*.

54. Gorky's nephew Karlen Mooradian translated and published letters and other source materials on Gorky, some of which have been called into question. The questionable documents were first published in a special issue of *Ararat* 12:4 (1971), and later in Karlen Mooradian, *The Many Worlds of Arshile Gorky* (Chicago: Gilgamesh Press, 1980).

55. As an example of the enduring trope: "The 13th-century painter Toros Roslin was among his lifelong artist-heroes"; Holland Cotter, "Suspended between Modernism and an Armenian Past, Art Review of Arshile Gorky: Portraits," *New York Times*, April 12, 2002. On the fabricated documents, see most recently, Matthew Spender, *Arshile Gorky: Goats on the Roof: A Life in Letters and Documents* (London: Ridinghouse, 2009).

56. For recent appraisals, see Vardan Azatyan, "Disintegrating Progress: Bolshevism, National Modernism, and the Emergence of Contemporary Art Practices in Armenia," *ArtMargins* 1:1 (2012), 62–87; and Angela Harutyunyan, *The Political Aesthetics of the Armenian Avant-Garde: The Journey of the "Painterly Real," 1987–2004* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

57. Avetisyan's more elaborate version of *The Birth of Toros Roslin* is located in the Court of Criminal Appeals of the Republic of Armenia in Yerevan. Avetisyan created a more spare version of *The Birth of Toros Roslin* along with other murals at the Electrotechnical Factory in the Armenian SSR's second city, Leninakan (renamed Gyumri since independence). The murals in Gyumri, which survived the 1988 earthquake, were

moved to the Minas Avetisyan house-museum in the painter's home village of Jajur, Armenia, around 2010. I thank the artist's son Narek Avetisyan for his assistance, Lusine Sargsyan for researching and photographing the murals, as well as the staff at the court for accommodating research requests.

58. Razmik Davoyean [Razmik Davoyan], *Toros Roslin: Kinovipak* (New York: Armenian Apostolic Church of America, 1984). The novella had been excerpted in *Sovetakan Grakanutyun* in 1984 but was blocked from publication as a separate volume in Armenia. Davoyan had previously published a thematically related poem, "Toros Roslini date" (The trial of Toros Roslin) in his collection *Pghndze Vard* (Erevan: Sovetakan Grogh, 1983). Razmik Davoyan subtitled his work *kinovipak* (film-novella), a neologism suggesting the cinematic nature of the narrative.

59. Davoyan, *Roslin*, 35.

60. Davoyan, *Roslin*, 148.

61. Davoyan, *Roslin*, 115.

62. Davoyan, *Roslin*, 51.

63. Davoyan, *Roslin*, 164.

64. Davoyan, *Roslin*, 178.

65. Gil was the son of Krikor Atamian, the eldest of Melkon's sons. Author's phone conversation with Roger Hagopian, December 19, 2017. No documentation exists to clarify how the Canon Tables came to be in Gil Atamian's possession. Around 1980 Gil Atamian, Nazaret Atamian's nephew, acquired the Canon Tables upon the death of his uncle, according to Defendant's Demurrer and Memorandum of Points and Authorities, *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, No. BC438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. filed Sept. 6, 2011). From the recollection of family members, it appears that the Canon Tables passed from Hagop to his younger brother Nazaret. Hagop's daughter, Sonia Atamian Reeves, did not recall ever seeing the Canon Tables or even knowing about them. It is my understanding that Nazaret Atamian's son, Malcolm "Sonny" Atamian, recalled that Nazaret informally gave the Canon Tables to Gil Atamian in exchange for $10,000 at an unknown time. Author's phone conversation with Roger Hagopian, January 12, 2018. It is my understanding that Gil Atamian passed away before he could be deposed by attorneys for the Armenian Church in 2014.

66. Father Dajad Davidian, a native of Worcester, Massachusetts, served as pastor of Saint James from 1969 to 1999. In his 2015 deposition, he recalled that Gil Atamian showed him photographs of the Canon Tables; Father Dajad put him in touch with Father Krikor Maksoudian, the director of the Krikor and Clara Zohrab Information Center at the Diocese of the Armenian Church in America in New York. Father Dajad stated that at the time Gil Atamian had little knowledge of the artistic significance of the Canon Tables. *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Deposition of Arthur D. Davidian (Father Dajad Davidian), Cambridge, Mass., March 31, 2015, esp. 68–74. Father Maksoudian, a prolific scholar, was a contributor to Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*.

67. The comment is from Christina Maranci's review of the catalog: "Review of *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, Thomas F. Mathews and Roger S. Wieck, eds. (New York and Princeton: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1994)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 31 (1999), 284–86.

68. Helen C. Evans, "Manuscript Illumination at the Armenian Patriarchate in Hromkla and the West," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1990.

69. Helen C. Evans, "Armenian Art Looks West: Toros Roslin's Zeytun Gospels," in *Treasures in Heaven*, 103.

70. Evans, "Armenian Art Looks West," 110.

71. Evans, "Armenian Art Looks West," 111.

72. Helen Evans, "Cilician Manuscript Illumination: The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries," in Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*, 66–83.

73. "the most famous Armenian artist": Evans, "Cilician Manuscript Illumination," 73. "widely recognized as the finest Armenian illuminator": Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*, 150. "Armenia's greatest illuminator; and his images established motifs used in all subsequent eras of Armenian illumination": Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*, 206.

74. "Acquisitions 1994," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 23 (1995), 89–90. It is unknown whether other than the Getty any institution attempted to purchase the Canon Tables, such as the Morgan Library or the Metropolitan Museum of Art, both of which have excellent collections of medieval (including Armenian) manuscripts and are located in New York City, in close proximity to the Treasures in Heaven exhibition. It is my understanding from a conversation with Helen Evans that the Canon Tables was not offered to the Metropolitan, which at the time was not purchasing manuscripts. Conversation with the author, New York, February 14, 2013.

75. The figure is reported in Mike Boehm, "The Getty Museum Is in a Legal Fight over Armenian Bible Pages," *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 2011. Getty representative Valerie Tate declined to comment on the price the Getty paid for the Canon Tables. Conversation with the author, January 4, 2017.

76. In 1967, at Sotheby's, there was an attempted sale of images removed from Roslin's Malatya Gospels, then Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Ms. 3627; the manuscript is currently Yerevan, Matenadaran Ms. 10675. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*, 52–53.

77. The Department of Manuscripts at the Getty Museum was instituted at the same time. John Walsh, "Acquisitions in 1983: Introduction," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), 229–30; "Manuscript Acquisitions: The Ludwig Collection," *J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 12 (1984), 281–306.

78. Ms. Ludwig II 6, Ms. Ludwig II 7 and II 7a, and Ms. Ludwig I 14. Mathews and Wieck, *Treasures in Heaven*, 174–76.

79. I thank Elizabeth Morrison for discussing the history of the Getty's collection of Armenian materials with me. Conversation with the author, Los Angeles, January 4, 2017.

CHAPTER 8: LOS ANGELES

1. *The Big Nowhere*, a 1988 novel by James Ellroy, presents a panorama of postwar Los Angeles that does not spare its readers any of the grisly underside and racial strife of a booming city. Among the many urban studies of Los Angeles, see Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006).

2. Anny P. Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1993); Matthew A. Jendian, *Becoming American, Remaining Ethnic: The Case of Armenian-Americans in Central California* (New York: LFB Scholarly, 2008).

3. Armenian Genocide Martyrs Monument in Montebello, 1968, Hrant Agbabian, designer.

4. Bob Pool, "Freeway Signs in Montebello Take Note of Armenian Genocide," *Los Angeles Times,* April 2, 2011, http://articles.latimes.com/2011/apr/02/local/la-me-montebello-armenian-sign-20110402.

5. The iWitness Project is an artistic collaborative led by Ara Oshagan, Levon Parian, and others. http://iwitness1915.org/ (accessed September 12, 2016).

6. For example, Meline Toumani, *There Was and There Was Not: A Journey through Hate and Possibility in Turkey, Armenia, and Beyond* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2014).

7. Henry Theriault, "Before We Talk about Armenian Genocide Reparations, There Is Another Accounting Due," *Armenian Weekly*, June 1, 2017. For the group's final report, see Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group [Henry Theriault et al.], "Resolution with Justice: Reparations for the Armenian Genocide, Report of the Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group," March 2015. For other perspectives on Armenian reparations, see, for example, Susan L. Karamanian, "The International Court of Justice and the Armenian Genocide," in *The Armenian Genocide Legacy*, edited by Alexis Demirdjian (London: Palgrave 2016), 84–101; and Nolwenn Guibert and Sun Kim, "Compensation for the Armenian Genocide: A Study of Recognition and Reparations," in Demirdjian, *Armenian Genocide Legacy*, 102–17.

8. Serj Tankian/Daron Malakian, "P.L.U.C.K. (Politically Lying, Unholy, Cowardly Killers)," System of a Down, from the eponymous album *System of a Down* (American Recordings/Columbia Records, 1998).

9. Quoted in Beverly Beyette, "He Stands Up in the Name of Armenians," *Los Angeles Times*, April 27, 2001, E1.

10. For an important recent legal ruling in *Simon v. Hungary* regarding this point and its implication for the restitution movement, see Shah, "California's Art Recovery Statute," 82–93; and Michael J. Bazyler and Rajika L. Shah, "The Unfinished Business of the Armenian Genocide: Armenian Property Restitution in American Courts," *Southwestern Journal of International Law* 23 (2017) (henceforth Bazyler and Shah), 263–64.

11. The restitution efforts of the 1990s are often described as the third period of the broader history of the Holocaust restitution movement. See Michael J. Bazyler, *Holocaust Justice: The Battle for Restitution in America's Courts* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); and Michael R. Marrus, *Some Measure of Justice: The Holocaust Restitution Campaign of the 1990s* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009). For a critique that emphasizes the continuity of the 1990s restitution litigation with earlier legal action, see Michael Thad Allen, "The Limits of Lex Americana: The Holocaust Restitution Litigation as a Cul-de-Sac of International Human Rights Law," *Widener Law Review* 17:1 (2011), 1–68.

12. Michael J. Bazyler, "Achieving a Measure of Justice and Writing Holocaust History through American Restitution Litigation," in *Rethinking Holocaust Justice: Essays across Disciplines*, edited by Norman J. W. Goda (New York: Berghahn, 2017), 2; discussion of why the United States is the only forum: 5. All page references are to the prepublished version of the essay. I thank Professor Bazyler for sharing this essay with me ahead of publication.

13. Burt Neuborne, "Holocaust Reparations Litigation: Lessons for the Slavery Reparations Movement," *New York University Annual Survey of American Law* 58:4 (2003), 619.

14. Bazyler, "Measure of Justice," with further references.

15. "The success [of the Holocaust restitution movement since the 1990s] should not be overstated. None of the lawsuits, most filed as class actions, ever reached trial and many were dismissed outright on technical grounds"; Bazyler and Shah, 239.

16. See discussion of Holocaust-looted art in Chapter 1, "Survivor Objects."

17. Bazyler, *Holocaust Justice*, chap. 5; Melissa Müller, Monika Tatzkow, et al., *Lost Lives, Lost Art: Jewish Collectors, Nazi Art Theft, and the Quest for Justice* (New York: Vendome Press, 2010).

18. Allen, "Limits," 67. See also Bazyler and Shah, 240–44.

19. Michael Bazyler, *Holocaust, Genocide, and the Law: A Quest for Justice in a Post-Holocaust World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 169–82; Allen, "Limits," 56–64 (South African case); Bazyler and Shah, 240–44.

20. Zaven V. Sinanian et al., "Panel Discussion: Marootian v. New York Life Insurance Company: Litigating Armenian Genocide Insurance Claims," *Southwestern Journal of International Law* 23 (2017), 183–84. Yeghiayan brought in William M. Shernoff, who had experience with Holocaust and insurance cases, as well as Brian Kabateck, who had expertise in class action suits.

21. Beyette, "He Stands Up." The details of the work of Yeghiayan on this case can be found in Michael Bobelian, "Vartkes's List," *Legal Affairs* (March/April 2006), www.legalaffairs.org/issues/March-April-2006/feature_bobelian_marapr06.msp. See also Michael Bobelian, *Children of Armenia: A Forgotten Genocide and the Century Long Struggle for Justice* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 134–38, 207–34.

22. *Kyurkjian v. AXA* and *Ouzounian v. AXA*. "Armenian Heirs Settle AXA Class Action Lawsuit," *Business Wire*, October 12, 2005, www.businesswire.com/news/home/20051012005262/en/Armenian-Heirs-Settle-AXA-Class-Action-Lawsuit.

23. A class action suit against a German insurance company, *Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung A.G.*, was not successful and came to an end in 2013. In 2006 Yeghiayan and others filed a suit against Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank, with the aim of recovering assets these German banks may have withheld from their Armenian depositors during the genocide; the suit, *Deirmenjian v. Deutsche Bank A.G.*, also came to an end in 2013. For analysis of these cases, see Bazyler and Shah; Bazyler, "Lamentation to Litigation," 255–302; and Sinanian, "Panel Discussion."

24. The real property cases, *Davoyan v. Republic of Turkey* and *Bakalian v. Republic of Turkey* (involving Incirlik) are discussed in Bazyler and Shah, 258–67.

25. Bazyler, "Lamentation to Litigation," 268.

26. Bazyler, "Lamentation to Litigation," 255.

27. Known as California's Armenian Insurance Prescription Statute or Armenian Genocide Victims Insurance Act, it is Cal. Civ. Proc. Code § 354.4. Bazyler, "Lamentation to Litigation," 257–58; Bazyler and Shah, 246. The same statute later became subject to various legal arguments and was invalidated by *Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung AG* in 2012. See Bazyler and Shah.

28. Bobelian, "Vartkes's List"; Beyette, "He Stands Up." As an example of Yeghiayan's historical works, see Vartkes Yeghiayan, ed., *British Foreign Office Dossiers on Turkish War Criminals* (La Verne: American Armenian International College, 1991).

29. Kabateck is a grandson of the late Father Nerses Odian, pastor of Saint Paul Armenian Church in Fresno. He served as the 2018–19 president of the Los Angeles County Bar Association.

30. For example, for many years Mark Geragos has represented Hampig Sassounian, who is serving a life sentence for the 1982 assassination of Turkish consul general Kemal Arikan in Los Angeles. Mark Geragos's father, Paul Geragos, was a deputy in the Los Angeles district attorney's office who later established his own law firm.

31. In the Getty case, Boyd was assisted by associates Rajika Shah and Kristen Nelson. Boyd represents Armenian Genocide survivors' heirs in other ongoing suits as well. Lee [Crawford] Boyd, "Unholy Profits: Holocaust Restitution and the Vatican Bank," in *Holocaust Restitution: Perspectives on the Litigation and Its Legacy*, edited by Michael Bazyler and Roger Alford (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 152–62.

32. "The Loyola Center for the Study of Law and Genocide is a unique center, the first at any US law school to focus on *remedies* and *victims* of genocide and mass atrocities. It couples intellectual research and practical advocacy with the aim of helping victims achieve justice." Its director is Professor Stanley A. Goldman. www.lls.edu/academics/centersprograms/centerforthestudyoflawandgenocide/

33. For example, "Keyan School [Charlie Keyan Armenian Community School, Clovis, CA] and Central Valley Lawyers Association Host Banquet for Geragos and Kabateck," *Massispost*, February 22, 2011.

34. "The compensation involved in these cases gives the community significant satisfaction as an expression of validation of the immeasurable suffering and losses as a result of the Armenian Genocide. . . . The life insurance cases afford a symbolic affirmation of the suffering and irreparable losses of the Armenian people." Richard Hovannisian, in Sinanian, "Panel Discussion," 190. For a critical perspective, see Sevag Tateosian, "Armenian Insurance Claims Settled in Landmark Case," *Hye Sharzhoom* (Fresno) 25:3(85) (March 2004), 1, 6.

35. Beyette, "He Stands Up."

36. Bazyler and Shah, 226, 257.

37. In an amicus brief in *Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung A.G.* the Republic of Turkey supported the defendants' position and attacked the crucial statute, Section 354.4, arguing that it impairs the foreign relations of Turkey and the United States. Brief *Amicus Curiae* of the Republic of Turkey in support of Appellants' Petition for Rehearing *en banc*, *Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung A.G.,* No. 07-56722 (January 13, 2011).

38. Wikileaks made public some of Hillary Clinton's e-mail exchanges, including e-mails dated from December 2010 that seemed to indicate that then–secretary of state Clinton and then–foreign minister of Turkey Ahmet Davutoglu communicated on the *Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung A.G.* case, which was ongoing at the time. Harut Sassounian, "WikiLeaks Reveals Hillary Clinton's Email Exchanges on Armenian Issues," *Armenian Weekly*, October 25, 2016, http://armenianweekly.com/2016/10/25/wikileaks-reveals-hillary-clintons-email-exchanges-on-armenian-issues/. Attorneys working on Armenian Genocide-era cases were keenly aware of the pressures exerted by the Republic of Turkey. Author's phone conversation with Lee Crawford Boyd, September 23, 2015.

39. Bazyler and Shah, 251–53, 258 note 235. For a broader perspective, see Geoffrey Robertson, "Armenia and the G-word: The Law and the Politics," in *The Armenian Genocide Legacy*, edited by Alexis Demirdjian (London: Palgrave 2016), 69–83.

40. "Although couched as traditional litigation, and carried on in classic legal terms, the litigation was as much about politics as it was about law." Neuborne, "Holocaust Reparations," 619. See also Allen, "Limits," 37. Bazyler and Shah, 257–58, offer an explanation for the change in Armenian Genocide-era litigation.

41. Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial, Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church v. J. Paul Getty Museum, No. BC438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. filed June 1, 2010) (henceforth *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Original Complaint). The complaint was amended twice. Second Amended Complaint and Demand for Jury Trial, Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church v. J. Paul Getty Museum, No. BC 438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. filed Aug. 1, 2011) (henceforth *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Second Amended Complaint).

42. For the amount requested for damages, see *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Original Complaint, 11; this amount was modified later, *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Second Amended Complaint, 12. Attorney Yeghiayan broke down the damages requested in an interview: Vartkes Yeghiayan interview (in Armenian) on "Hertapokh," [The

relay], host Armen Dilanyan, AABC TV, Channel 384 Charter cable network, November 17, 2011.

43. For the Getty's initial response, see J. Paul Getty Trust (June 2, 2010), *Statement from the J. Paul Getty Trust Regarding the Canon Tables* [press release], www.getty.edu/news/press/canon_tables/canon_tables.html.

44. Jason Felch and Ralph Frammolino, *Chasing Aphrodite: The Hunt for Looted Antiquities at the World's Richest Museum* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011).

45. "Armenian Church Sues Getty over 'Magical' Bible," *TMZ*, June 2, 2010, www.tmz.com/2010/06/02/getty-museum-sued-for-return-of-genocide-loot/; Veronica Rocha, "Armenian Church Sues the Getty," *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 2010, www.latimes.com/gnp-church060310-story.html; Marianna Grigoryan, "Armenia: Church Sues Getty Museum to 'Reclaim' Armenian Cultural Heritage," June 15, 2010, www.eurasianet.org/node/61307; Heghnar Watenpaugh, "When Art and Religion Collide," *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 2010, National Edition, A17; Charlotte Burns, "Armenian Restitution Claims Grow: Getty Case May Be Tip of the Iceberg," *Art Newspaper*, no. 223, April 6, 2011, www.theartnewspaper.com/articles/Armenian%20restitution%20claims%20grow/23427.

46. Boehm, "Getty in Legal Fight."

47. Rick Gladstone, "Armenian Church Leader Speaks on Suit to Reclaim Seized Property," *New York Times*, May 18, 2015, A8.

48. This is my understanding from my phone conversation with Lee Crawford Boyd, September 23, 2015.

49. Chief curator Georg Ter-Vardanian, quoted in Grigoryan, "Church Sues Getty."

50. Quoted in Mike Boehm, "The Getty Museum Is in a Legal Fight over Armenian Bible Pages," *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 2011.

51. Quoted in Boehm, "Getty Museum Is in a Legal Fight."

52. Quoted in Grigoryan, "Church Sues Getty."

53. The following summary of the provenance is derived from *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Second Amended Complaint. The original complaint and the amended complaint presented slightly differing narratives. For a summary of these differences, see *Western Prelacy* v. Getty, Second Amended Complaint, 5. In my interpretation, the original complaint relied heavily on Shorvoghlian, "Zeytuni Awetarane." The narrative presented in the amended complaint reflects additional, earlier sources and eschews some of the information in Shorvoghlian that may be speculative or inaccurate.

54. The account below is summarized from Defendant's Demurrer and Memorandum of Points and Authorities, Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church v. J. Paul Getty Museum, No. BC438824 (Cal. Super. Ct. filed Sept. 6, 2011), 6 (henceforth *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Demurrer).

55. If there had been an opinion issued by a judge in this case, an exhaustive legal analysis of the provenance of the Zeytun Gospels may have emerged based on a comprehensive view of the known facts. As it is, the legal filings in this case by attorneys for one side or the other enlist the known facts of the provenance to make persuasive arguments in their clients' interests.

56. Author's phone conversation with Elizabeth Morrison, September 16, 2016.

57. Author's phone conversation with Elizabeth Morrison, September 16, 2016. Getty Museum director Timothy Potts said there were "lots of gray areas and facts we don't know" about the Canon Tables' provenance. Boehm, "Getty, Armenian Church Settle."

58. *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Demurrer.

59. An example was the Armenian Genocide Victims Insurance Act, Cal. Civ. Proc. Code § 354.4; see discussion above.

60. This was the California Art Recovery Statute: Cal. Civ. Proc. Code § 338(c)(3). Put in lay terms, the statute extends the time period in which claims for the recovery of stolen artwork could be filed. Now the statute of limitations is triggered *from the time of the actual discovery* of the elements of a claim of theft. In addition, it extends the statute of limitations from three to six years from the date of discovery of the theft. For legal analysis, see Shah, "California's Art Recovery Statute"; and Bazyler and Shah.

61. Bazyler and Shah, 275.

62. Shah, "California's Art Recovery Statute," 106.

63. *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Second Amended Complaint, 9.

64. *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, Demurrer.

65. Editorial, "The Getty Museum and the Zeyt'un Gospels Custody Battle," *Los Angeles Times*, November 13, 2011.

66. These arguments are detailed in Western Prelacy v. Getty, Plaintiff's Opposition to Defendants' Demurrer to Second Amended Complaint (October 11, 2011), 4–7.

67. Attorney Lee Crawford Boyd makes this point in Boehm, "Getty Museum Is in a Legal Fight."

68. Judge Khan wrote no opinion but issued a brief ruling denying the Getty's demurrer from the bench. See Boehm, "Getty Museum Is in a Legal Fight"; Bazyler and Shah, 273; "The Eight Orphan Pages of the Zeytun Gospels," *Armenian Bar Association Newsletter* 26:1 (Winter 2015), 10–11.

69. The parties' disagreements included the choice of mediator; see, for example, The Parties' Joint Status Report Concerning Selection of a Mediator, Western Prelacy v. Getty (Cal. Super. Ct. filed December 22, 2011). The parties ultimately agreed on retired judge Dickran M. Tevrizian Jr. He was a respected mediator of Armenian descent; Luis Li, the lead outside counsel for the Getty, had clerked for him. Michael Bazyler, e-mail communication to the author, June 3, 2018. Ricardo St. Hilaire, "Getty Museum and Armenian Church Report Progress in Zeyt'un Gospels Case-Updated," *Cultural Heritage Lawyer*, June 2, 2012, http://culturalheritagelawyer.blogspot.com/2012/06/getty-museum-and-armenian-church-appear.html.

70. On Cuno's views, see Chapter 1, "Survivor Objects." Jason Felch, "Antiquities Issue Rears Head with Getty Leaders Potts, Cuno in Place," *Los Angeles Times*, February 17, 2012, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/feb/17/entertainment/la-et-getty-antiquities-20120217. Lee Rosenbaum, "Archaeologists' Red Flag: James Cuno Named Getty Trust President," *ArtsJournal Blog*, May 10, 2011, www.artsjournal.com/culturegrrl/2011/05/james_cuno_named_getty_trust_p.html.

71. Quoted in Jason Felch, "James Cuno Says He Accepts the Getty's Antiquities Acquisition Policy," *Los Angeles Times,* May 12, 2011, www.latimes.com/entertainment/news/la-et-cuno-antiquities-20110512,0,560087.story.

72. Cuno quoted in "Patt Morrison Asks: James Cuno, Guiding Getty," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 2011, http://articles.latimes.com/2011/dec/03/opinion/la-oe-morrison-james-cuno-20111203. See also Lee Rosenbaum, "Antiquities Antics in Davos: Whatever Happened to 'Kinder, Gentler' James Cuno?" *ArtsJournal Blog*, February 1, 2013, www.artsjournal.com/culturegrrl/2013/02/antiquities-antics-in-davos-whatever-happened-to-kinder-gentler-james-cuno.html.

73. Entitled "In the Beginning Was the Word: Medieval Gospel Illumination," the exhibition ran from August to November 2011. www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/gospel_illuminations/ (accessed July 5, 2017).

74. Parties' Joint Stipulation Re: Stay of Proceedings, Western Prelacy v. Getty (Cal. Super. Ct. filed October 17, 2012).

75. That case was *Cassirer v. Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection Foundation.* See Bazyler and Shah, 273–74; Shah, "California's Art Recovery Statute," 111–12; and Ricardo St. Hilaire, "Cassirer Case Stays the Dispute between the Getty and Armenian Church over the Zeyt'un Gospel Pages," *Cultural Heritage Lawyer*, October 25, 2012, http://culturalheritagelawyer.blogspot.com/2012/10/cassirer-case-stays-disputebetween.htm.

76. In the December 2013 ruling, The U.S. Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals refused to declare Cal. Code Civ. Proc. 338(c)(3) unconstitutional and thus allowed the case to move forward. The court decision specifically cites *Western Prelacy v. Getty* as an example of a case that hinges on the statute. Laura Gilbert, "California Court Revives Jewish Heirs' Case against Spanish Museum," *Art Newspaper*, December 13, 2013; Bazyler and Shah, 273–74; Shah, "California's Art Recovery Statute," 111–12. Mike Boehm, "Getty, Armenian Church Settle," *Los Angeles Times*, September 22, 2015, E6.

77. See, for example, Western Prelacy v. Getty, Deposition of Arthur D. Davidian (Father Dajad Davidian), Cambridge, Mass., March 31, 2015.

78. Levon Kirakosian, Review of "Chasing Aphrodite" by Felch and Frammolino, *Asbarez*, July 19, 2011, http://asbarez.com/97123/book-review-chasing-aphrodite-the-hunt-for-looted-antiquities-at-the-world's-richest-museum/.

79. James Cuno, "Culture War: The Case against Repatriating Museum Artifacts," *Foreign Affairs* 93:6 (November–December 2014), 119–24, 126–29.

80. Bazyler and Shah, 274.

81. J. Paul Getty Museum and the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America, "J. Paul Getty Museum and the Western Prelacy of the Armenian Apostolic Church of America Announce Agreement in Armenian Art Restitution Case" [press release], September 21, 2015 (henceforth Prelacy-Getty Press Release). Eve M. Kahn, "Getty Settles Dispute with Armenian Church," *New York Times*, September 22, 2015, C3. Julia Halperin, "Getty Becomes First Museum to Restitute Armenian Art Removed During Genocide," *Art Newspaper*, September 22, 2015. Jori Finkel, "Getty Displays Medieval Illuminated Pages after Legal Battle Finally Ends," *Art Newspaper*, January 26, 2016.

82. Prelacy-Getty Press Release.

83. Reported in Boehm, "Getty, Armenian Church Settle."

84. This is a subtle but highly symbolic point. This is my understanding of my phone conversation with Lee Crawford Boyd, September 23, 2015.

85. "Unfinished legal business": Boehm, "Getty, Armenian Church Settle." "Restorative justice" and Lee Boyd quote: "It's a way to participate in the remembrance of these crimes and a way to prevent them from happening again"; Sophia Morris, "McKool Smith Nabs Brownstein Hyatt Human Rights Expert," *Law360*, October 26, 2016.

86. Quoted in Kahn, "Getty Settles."

87. Author's phone conversation with Lee Crawford Boyd, September 23, 2015.

88. Jessica Gelt, "Getty Agrees to Return 1st Century BC Sculpture to Italy," *Los Angeles Times*, June 13, 2017, www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/la-et-cm-getty-repatriation-20170613-story.html. In 2014 the Getty returned a twelfth-century manuscript to the Monastery of Dionysiou in Greece. David Ng, "Getty

Museum to Return 12th Century New Testament to Greece Monastery," *Los Angeles Times*, April 7, 2014, http://articles.latimes.com/2014/apr/07/entertainment/la-et-cm-getty-museum-new-testament-greece-20140407.

89. Julia Halperin, "Getty Becomes First Museum to Restitute Armenian Art Removed During Genocide," *Art Newspaper*, September 22, 2015.

90. Shah, "California's Art Recovery Statute," 79.

91. On December 16, 2016, President Obama signed into law the Holocaust Expropriated Art Recovery Act of 2016 (the "HEAR Act"). Shah, "California's Art Recovery Statute," 113–15.

92. Boehm, "Getty, Armenian Church Settle." "The Getty litigation points the way toward the future of Armenian genocide litigation in the United States: targeted efforts based on narrowly written statutes that avoid the 'third rail' term for American courts—'Armenian genocide'; a willingness to be open to creative solutions; and political pressure that enhances and supports the litigation"; Bazyler and Shah, 278. Attorney Yeghiayan, who passed away in 2017, stated in 2011 that his legal team had identified over sixty cases of Armenian cultural heritage held by museums or other institutions that could be subject to dispute. Boehm, "Getty Museum Is in a Legal Fight."

93. Bazyler and Shah, 275. Author's phone conversation with Michael Bazyler, April 22, 2016.

94. See Chapter 6, "New York." Oshakan, *Arewelahay banasirutiwne ew Ejmiatsin*, 77.

95. Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin Information Services, "Holy Relics to Be Used during the Canonization Service of the Martyrs of the Armenian Genocide," April 23, 2015, www.armenianchurch.org/index.jsp?sid=3&nid=2856&y=2015&m=3&d=23&lng=en.

96. Vartkes Yeghiayan interview (in Armenian) on "Hertapokh," [The relay], host Armen Dilanyan, AABC TV, Channel 384 Charter cable network, November 17, 2011; "Eight Orphan Pages."

97. Some argued that the Getty had curated the Canon Tables in exemplary manner and they felt pride in seeing Armenian masterpieces studied and exhibited at the Getty. Elmira Adamian, "Letter to the Editor: On the Getty Lawsuit," *Asbarez* (Los Angeles), June 11, 2010, http://asbarez.com/81963/letter-on-the-getty-lawsuit/. Another viewpoint stresses the need to conserve Armenian manuscripts. Tamar Boyadjian, "The Future of the Past: Toward the Preservation of Armenian Manuscripts," *Asbarez* (Los Angeles), February 25, 2011, http://asbarez.com/93656/the-future-of-the-pasttoward-the-preservation-of-armenian-manuscripts/; Michael Toumayan, "Moral Considerations in the Art-Restitution Lawsuit between the Armenian Church and the Getty Museum," *Asbarez* (Los Angeles), November 29, 2011, http://asbarez.com/99584/moral-considerations-in-the-art-restitution-lawsuit-between-the-armenian-church-and-the-getty-museum/.

98. Vache Brutian [Vatche Proodian], "Irav, Ketin e tere?" *Asbarez* (Los Angeles), September 24, 2015, http://asbarez.com/arm/236627/.

99. Compare, for example, Proodian's fierce critique of the new Armenian Genocide Memorial in Grant Park, Los Angeles, which he likens to a drab tombstone. Vache Brutian [Vatche Proodian], "Khoyank, te?" *Asbarez*, September 22, 2016, http://asbarez.com/arm/264434/.

100. The example he gives is the home of Aram Manoukian, one of the founders of the republic, in Yerevan, which is in a derelict state. Many activists have criticized the Armenian government for failing to protect historical sites as well.

101. Bazyler, "Achieving," 26–27.

102. The Getty Conservation Institute awarded a $130,000 "Keep It Modern" grant for the conservation of modern architecture in 2016 to the Writer's Colony in Sevan, for the Writer's Union of Armenia, /www.getty.edu/foundation/initiatives/current/keeping_it_modern/grants_awarded_2016.html (accessed August 30, 2016).

103. Quoted in Boehm, "Getty, Armenian Church Settle."

104. On the Armenian Genocide Insurance Settlement Papers, see https://sfi.usc.edu/cagr/resources (accessed August 18, 2016).

105. Kévorkian, *Armenian Genocide*; Vahakn N. Dadrian and Taner Akçam, eds., *Judgment in Istanbul: The Armenian Genocide Trials* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011); Vahakn N. Dadrian, "The Turkish Military Tribunal's Prosecution of the Authors of the Armenian Genocide: Four Major Court-Martial Series," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11:1 (1997), 28–59.

106. Boris Adjemian and Raymond Kévorkian, "Témoignages de rescapés et connaissance du génocide de 1915–1916: La constitution des fonds d'archives arméniens et leurs usages historiographiques," *Études arméniennes contemporaines* 5 (2015): 79–111.

107. Joachim Savelsberg is engaged in a research project that examines legal cases that focus on conflicts over the denial of the Armenian Genocide, such as the Massachusetts Curriculum case, *Griswold v. Driscoll*.

108. "The Holocaust restitution movement . . . yielded not only money; it also yielded new history"; Bazyler, "Achieving," 25.

109. Gerald D. Feldman, "The Historian and Holocaust Restitution: Personal Experiences and Reflections," *Berkeley Journal of International Law* 23 (2005), 352. Cited in Bazyler, "Achieving," with further discussion. For a critique, see Allen, "Limits."

110. Carlo Ginzburg, "Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (1991), 79–92; Carlo Ginzburg, *The Judge and the Historian: Marginal Notes on a Late Twentieth-Century Miscarriage of Justice*, translated by Antony Shugaar (London: Verso, 1999).

111. Peter Burke, "Introduction," in Carlo Ginzburg, *The Enigma of Piero: Piero della Francesca, The Baptism, The Arezzo Cycle, The Flagellation*, translated by Martin Ryle and Kate Soper (London: Verso, 1985), 2–4.

112. Ginzburg, "Checking the Evidence," 90.

113. Feigenbaum and Reist, *Provenance*.

114. UNESCO, "Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property," 1970.

115. Editorial, "The Getty Is Getting It Right," *Los Angeles Times*, January 27, 2013.

116. Susan Slyomovics, *How to Accept German Reparations* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

117. John Torpey, *Making Whole What Has Been Smashed: On Reparations Politics* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

118. John Torpey, "Making Whole What Has Been Smashed': Reflections on Reparations," *Journal of Modern History* 73:2 (June 2001), 343.

119. John Torpey, "The Past after the Future," *Open Democracy*, August 30, 2001, www.opendemocracy.net/faith-globaljustice/article_222.jsp.

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INDEX

Page numbers followed by n refer to notes, with note number.

Abbasid dynasty, 58
Abdul Hamid II (Ottoman sultan), 108, 124, 336n23
Adana, *xxii*, 82, 91; Armenian community in, 118; Der Ghazarian in, 151, 152; Genocide restitution movement and, 270, 272
Adana Province: 1909 massacres of Armenians in, 108; Ottoman security concerns about, in World War I, 111–12
Agémian, Sylvia, 356n97
Agha, Asadur. *See* Surenian, Asadur Agha
Aharonian, Avedis, 173
Aintab, *xxii*, 15, 77, 96, 126, 158, 191, 336n19
Aleppo, *xxii*; alliances with Cilician chieftains, 54; as center of Ottoman genocidal network, 157; as cultural center, 158; damaged Armenian religious texts in Armenian Genocide, 40–42; flight of Armenian refugees to, 152; gathering of Armenian refugees in, 158–59, 179; Genocide prison camps near, 157; long-time Armenian population in, 158, 159; as postwar relief center for refugees, 158; postwar turmoil in, 129–30; Surmeyan's history of, 187–88; as transportation hub, 157, 158. *See also* Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn, in Aleppo; Surmeyan, in postwar Aleppo
Allenby, Edmund, 130
alphabet, Armenian, development of, 65, 236
Altmann, Maria, 36
Altmann v. Republic of Austria, 36, 268–69
American Medical Women's Hospital Service, 131
Anatolia: and Armenian Genocide, 27, 41, 153, 165, 168–70, 171, 174, 177, 184, 205; Hetum's tour of, 57, 247; hybrid cultures in, 242; and Jelali Revolts, 85; medieval Armenian communities in, 50, 54; medieval society in, 50; migration to Americas from, 120; Mongol rule in, 57; Seljuk rule in, 49–50; Taurus Mountains and, 49; Turkish historians' denial of Armenian presence in, 29; turmoil of medieval life in, 50; and World War I, 126; Young Turks and, 135
Andonian, Aram, 293
Aneh Fortress, 82
Antelias, *xxii*; Catholicosate of Cilicia in, 175, 198, 206, 211, 275, 276
Antioch, 54, 60, 65, 319n3
Aram I Keshishian (Catholicos of Cilicia), 276
"Aravot Luso" hymn (Nerses Klayetsi), 77
ARF. *See* Armenian Revolutionary Federation
Armenia, Republic of: absorption by Soviet Union, 196; and Armenian

Apostolic Church, growing influence of, 287; Armenians' postwar hopes for, 129; critics of historical preservation practices in, 288, 369n100; establishment of, 196; and *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 276–77
Armenian American Museum (Glendale, California), 264, 290
Armenian Americans: in California, 5, 263; importance to Armenian Genocide to, 3, 264–65; interest in lawsuit against Getty, 3; prominence of genocide commemoration and activism in, 264; varying views on Armenian Genocide memory, 265. *See also* Los Angeles Armenian community
Armenian Apostolic Church: administrative structure of, 167; Armenian language as official liturgical language of, 65; canonization of translators of Armenian Bible, 65; and centennial observances of Armenian Genocide, 287; apostolic founders of, 64; Der Ghazarian on, 133–34; early use of original-language Bible, 64–65; independence of, 64; as national church, and special culture importance of religious relics, 42–44; preservation of Armenian culture after fall of Cilician Kingdom, 91–92; and Republic of Armenia, growing influence in, 287; resistance of iconoclastic pressure, 71, 73; role in community governance, 167; translation of all religious texts into Armenian, 65. *See also* Bible, Armenian
Armenian Apostolic Church in Armenian Genocide: Church property confiscated by Ottoman government, 170; confiscation and reuse of church buildings, 168; destruction of churches and contents, 168–70; documentation of losses, difficulties of, 168–69, 170–71; exile and murder of priests, 168; eyewitness accounts of destruction, 169–70; individual efforts to save manuscripts and objects, 171–72; restructuring and reduction of, 166–71, 175, 344n31; second phase of Genocide, under Turkish rule, 175; value of destroyed property, 173
Armenian Apostolic Church of America: conflict over support for Soviet rule, 196–98, 351n33; importance for maintaining diaspora identity, 199; ongoing divisionin, 198
Armenian Apostolic Church of America, Western Prelacy. See *Western Prelacy v. Getty*
Armenian areas of Turkey: flooding of, by Euphrates dams, 8, 10; Turkish removal of traces of Armenian past from, 9–10, 11, 14, 18; Turkish silence on fate of former residents, 14, 15, 16
Armenian art history: and Armenian creativity and resilience, invincibility of, in Davoyan's *Toros Roslin*, 249–50, 252–53; and Cilician Kingdom, central importance of, 227; Der Nersessian's pioneering work in, 209, 219–20, 223–24; difficulties caused by small number of survivor objects, 227; early scholarship on, 226–27; figures in development of, 223–24; move into mainstream academia, 229; Roslin's rise to prominence in, 225–26, 226–27, 228–31, 239–40, 242, 244–45. *See also* Der Nersessian, Sirarpie
Armenian art history in Armenian SSR: Eurocentric focus of, 241–44; influence of communist ideology on, 241; interest in roots of Armenian nation, 242; promotion of, 234–44
Armenian culture: danger of extinction, 29; destruction of, in Genocide, 23, 28; special culture importance of religious relics in, 42–44; study of, in Armenian SSR, 241–44. *See also* cultural genocide against Armenians
Armenian culture, preservation of: by Armenian Church, after fall of Cilician Kingdom, 91–92; Armenians' efforts toward, despite

Genocide, 31–32; Church role in, 64, 235; and importance of survivor objects, 40–45; importance to Armenian survival, 45; Matenadaran and, 235; post-Genocide revival of Armenian communities, 45; Surmeyan's postwar cataloging of Armenian manuscripts, 180–82, 182–87. *See also* restitution for Armenian Genocide; survivor objects of Armenian culture
Armenian General Benevolent Union, 204, 338n58
Armenian Genocide, 27–32; and Armenian Church, restructuring and reduction of, 166–71, 175, 344n31; Armenian Church's granting of sainthood to all victims of, 287; Armenians' postwar hopes for justice, 129; arrest and imprisonment of Armenian leadership, 27, 110, 166, 167, 177; attacks on refugee caravans, 160; centennial observances of, 286–87; children and women absorbed into Muslim families, 31–32; and cultural artifacts, Armenians' efforts to preserve, 31–32; cultural heritage issues raised by, 46; destruction of Armenian cultural heritage in, 23, 28; Dört Yol, removal of Armenians from, 112; events leading to, 107–11; fiftieth anniversary protests in Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 232–33; first phase, under Ottoman rule, 28; forced marches of deportees, 160; importance to U.S. Armenian Americans, 3, 264–65; and impossibility of return to lost homelands, 188–89; ongoing impact of, 29; postwar availability of information on, 128; postwar relief efforts for refugees, 158, 172; postwar return of survivors, 130; public recognition of, as one goal of *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 284–85, 292; removal and extermination of Armenians, 27–28; and removal of Canon Tables from Zeytun Gospels, 1–2, 21; removal of Zeytun Gospels from Zeytun during, 2, 14, 21, 114–15; second phase of, under Turkish rule, 28–29, 151, 174; silence of modern Turks on, 9, 14, 15, 16; survivors of, as refugees in Syrian and Lebanon, 40–41; varying views of Armenian Americans on, 265; victim and witness accounts, discounting of, 30; victim and witness accounts, large volume of, 30–31; wartime diary of Dr. Jebejian on, 125–28; as Young Turk official policy, 161–62; in Zeytun, 2, 27–28. *See also* Armenian Apostolic Church in Armenian Genocide; Armenian property, confiscation and theft of; cultural genocide against Armenians; Marash, Battle of (1920); restitution for Armenian Genocide; Turkey, Republic of, and Armenian Genocide; Zeytun, exile of all residents in Genocide
Armenian Genocide, writing history of: as a substitute for justice, 293; as focus of Armenian lawsuits, 293; postwar prosecutions of Young Turks and, 292–93; and restitution lawsuits, effects of, 291–92, 293–94; by victims, 292
Armenian Genocide Memorial Day (April 24), 265
Armenian Genocide Reparations Study Group, 265
Armenian identity: battles important to, 196; in diaspora, importance of Armenian Church in, 199
Armenian language: alphabet, development of, 65, 236; danger of extinction, 29; manuscript colophons as record of, 69; as official liturgical language of Armenian Church, 65
"Armenian Miniatures" (Der Movsisian), 226–27
Armenian National Constitution (1863): joint church and secular leadership under, 167; Ottoman suspension of, during Armenian Genocide, 167; provisions of, 89
Armenian National Modernism movement, Avetisyan and, 245

Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople: awareness of, due to Der Nersessian's research, 216; in Church hierarchy, 167; Der Nersessian's research in library of, 190, 211–12, 213; diminished postwar power of, 175; inventory of Church property by, 167; Kalustian as Patriarch, 235; Ormanian as Patriarch, 194; Ottoman abolishment of in Armenian Genocide, 167–68; Patriarch's postwar return to Istanbul, 173; and postwar recovery efforts, 173; role in Armenian Church, 167; transfer to Matenadaran, 231, 235, 358nn26–27; transport from Marash, 213–16, 354n76, 354n80; Zeytun Gospels at, 190, 212
Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem: collection of Armenian manuscripts, 237; Der Nersessian's research in, 211; Monastery of Saint James as seat of, 167; role in church hierarchy, 167; Roslin manuscripts in, 64, 202; storage of religious items saved from Armenian Genocide, 171, 184, 202, 211
Armenian property, confiscation and theft of, 28, 159–64; attacks on deportee caravans and refugees, 150, 160; Central Commission for Abandoned Properties, 173; by corrupt officials, 160, 163; deaths resulting from, 159; government promises of compensation, 112, 159–60, 162, 166; government seizure of refugee insurance policy payouts, 163; Ottoman laws facilitating, 161–64, 172, 173; Ottoman records, unknown fate of, 169; recent increased focus on, 161; redistribution to Muslims, 112–13, 162, 163–64, 165; and regional Abandoned Property Commissions, 161, 162, 163, 169, 170; religious and cultural objects, 164–66; special provisions for takeover of religious endowments, 164–65; Turkey's sealing of property records related to, 164; under Turkish rule, 174; warehousing of stolen items by Ottoman government, 173; in Zeytun, 112–13. *See also* restitution for Armenian Genocide
Armenian Protestant Church, growth of, 119
Armenian Revolutionary Federation (Tashnagtsutiun; Tashnags; ARF), 134–35, 196–97, 198, 233
Armenians: as forgotten people in 1930s, 204; postwar division among multiple nations, 174; Turkish portrayal as violent rebels, 13–14
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic (Armenian SSR): Armenian cultural studies in, 241–44; and Armenian diaspora, tense relationship with, 233–34; and Armenian nationalism, rise of, 232–33; Communist regime's repressions and, 231–32, 234–35; conflict in U.S. Armenian Church over, 196–98, 351n33; diaspora Armenians' migration to, 234, 235; and division of Armenian population, 174; memorial to Armenian Genocide in Yerevan, 231, 233; protests on fiftieth anniversary of Armenian Genocide, 232–33; public interest in medieval Armenian history, 244; quasi-statehood enjoyed by, 234; and Roslin, research on, 229, 237–40; rumors of Soviet assassinations disguised as car accidents, 247; self-definition as Armenian homeland, 234; and World War II, 231
Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, and Toros Roslin: celebration of by artists and writers, 245–53; public interest in, 244; recasting as secular artist, 253
Armistice of Mudros (1918), 172
Arslan, Antonia, 43–44
art history, Armenian. *See* Armenian art history
art history in U.S., pre-World-War-II influx of European scholars, 210
Artin, Dr. *See* Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn ("Dr. Artin")
art market: Armenian cultural objects as commodity on, 203–5, 257–58; illegal and semilegal trading on, 26, 36, 38,

39, 46. *See also* museums, traditional acquisition practices
Asadur (house of Surenian). *See* Surenian, Asadur Agha
Asbarez, 288
al-Ashraf (Mamluk sultan), 62
Asmenian, Hayk, 110
Association of Art Museum Directors, updating of artwork acquisition guidelines, 36–37
Atamian, Gil: in Atamian family, 361n65; display of Canon Tables to interested parties, 254, 361n66; passage of Canon Tables to, 254, 361n65; sale of Canon Tables to Getty Museum, 257–58
Atamian, Hagop: in Aleppo, 158; arrival in U.S., 190–91; and Battle of Marash, 138, 142
Atamian, Hagop, and Canon Tables: personal meaning of, 150–51, 155; removal from Zeytun Gospels, 149, 218; transport to U.S., 150–51
Atamian, Hagop, and Zeytun Gospels: decision to entrust to American missionary, 148–49, 149–50; recovery of, 146–47, 339–40nn98–99; removal of Canon Tables from, 149, 218
Atamian, Melkon: arrival in U.S., 190–91; and Battle of Marash, 138, 139, 141; postwar migration to U.S., 148; prewar plans for migration to U.S., 120–21
Atamian, Melkon, and Zeytun Gospels: decision to entrust to American missionary, 148–49, 193; recovery of, 146–47, 340nn111–12; search in U.S. for missionary with, 193–94, 349n10
Atamian, Mariam, 138, 139, 141
Atamian, Nazaret: arrival in U.S., 191; death of, 254; on Getty provenance label, 25
Atamian, Nazaret, and Canon Tables: information of, 349n10; occasional display to friends, 192, 202, 254, 361n66; possession of, 361n65; provision of information on, 193; published accounts of, 355–56n90
Atamian family: arrival in U.S., 190–91, 348n1; departure from Marash, 150; migration to U.S., 150; in Watertown, Mass., 192–93, 254
Atamian family, and Canon Tables: discovery by Morgan Library officials, 254; legal right to, as issue, 278–79; occasional display to friends, 192, 202, 254; possession of, 278–79, 361n65; removal from Zeytun Gospels, 149, 218; retention as family heirloom, 192, 254; value of, as unknown to family members, 254
Atatürk, Mustafa Kemal, 135–36
author: as Armenian, 5–6; background of, 4; development of particular interest in Canon Tables, 4, 6–7; *Los Angeles Times* op-ed on Canon Tables ownership controversy, 4–6; in Hromkla, 7–10; in Marash, 14–18; significance of Canon Tables to, 303; in Zeytun, 10–14
Avarayr, Battle of (451), 196, 351n27
Avetisyan, Minas: background of, 246–47; death of, 247; symbolic murals of Toros Roslin, 245–46, 360–61n57
Avshar tribe, in Zeytun region, 91
Ayyubid dynasty, 53, 59

Bagratid dynasty, 50
Basil (son of Sempad), known as Basil the Mongol (Tatar Vasil), 56, 60
Basilosian, Garabed Agha, 104
Basilosian clan of Zeytun, 98, 104, 105, 114
Basil the Brigand, 50, 95, 330n83; sacred Gospels of, 101, 102
Baybars al-Bunduqdari (Mamluk sultan), 60
Bazyler, Michael, 272, 286
Beginning Again at Ararat (Elliott), 132, 136
Beirut, *xxii*; American University in, 123, 153; and Armenian Genocide, 41; Catholicosate of Cilicia outside of, 206, 207; as great Ottoman city, 120
Berit Mountain, Zeytun residents' affection and fear toward, 87–88, 93–94
Bible, Armenian: affixing of votive offerings to, 67; Armenian veneration of,

65–67; as "Breath of God," 65, 66, 70, 300; in Church liturgy, 66; colophons recording patrons and makers of, 67–69; and *khach-avedaran*, 66; medieval language of, as no longer comprehensible to modern speakers, 66; spiritual power attributed to, 67; translation of, 65
Bidzag, Sarkis, 229
The Birth of Toros Roslin (Avetisyan), 245–46, 360–61n57
Boyd, Lee Crawford, 272, 285, 364n31
Brezhnev, Leonid, 231
Byzantine Empire, 49–50, 51, 319n3

California: Armenian Genocide memorials in, 265; extension of statute of limitations on Armenian Genocide cases, 271; large Armenian community in, 5, 263; Stolen Art Recovery Statute, 280, 282–83, 285–86, 367n60; waves of Armenian migrations to, 263
Canada, and cultural genocide of indigenous peoples, 35
canon tables (*khoran*): history and purpose of, 21, 72; special aesthetic elaboration reserved for, 72–73; standard format of, 72; as symbolic altar, 74; symbolic meaning of images in, 72, 74–76
Canon Tables from Zeytun Gospels (Getty Museum, Ms. 59): and Armenian creativity and resilience, 250; arrival in U.S., 190–91, 349n3; as art market commodity, following "Treasures in Heaven" exhibition (1994), 257–58; with Atamian family in Watertown, Mass., 192–93, 254; author's development of particular interest in, 4, 6–7; author's *Los Angeles Times* op-ed on controversy over, 4–6; Der Nersessian's linking of Zeytun Gospels to, 213, 217; described, 19–20, 19–23, 20–21; first museum exhibition of, 254–58; and importance of survivor artifacts to Armenians, 44; information contained in, 21; location in Zeytun Gospels, 2–3; as most lavishly illuminated pages of Zeytun Gospels, 72; ornamentation of, 3; richness of illumination, as difficult to photograph, 22; as survivor object, and transformed significance, 302, 303; transport to U.S. by Atamian family, 2, 150–51, 190–91. *See also* Roslin, Toros
Canon Tables' removal from Zeytun Gospels, 1–2, 21, 23, 44–45, 149; as analog of Armenian community dismemberment in Genocide, 5, 18, 45; damage sustained in, 22–23, 44–45, 149, 314n3; Der Ghazarian's speculation on, 217–18
Catholicos of Aghtamar, 344n31
Catholicos of All Armenians, in Echmiadzin, 167; aid to Armenian refugees, 195; efforts to save Armenian manuscripts and relics, 195; Soviet efforts to undermine Church and, 175; and *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 276
Catholicos of Cilicia: brief postwar return to Sis, 175; Der Nersessian's research and, 211; destruction and confiscation of properties of, 175; on destruction of Armenian Church in Genocide, 166; Garabed as, 325n9; Guleserian as, 78; Hovsepian as, 206; Hromkla as seat of, 49, 51, 52; as *khalifat al-arman*, 51; Nerses Klayetsi as, 73, 77; Ottoman dissolving of, in Armenian Genocide, 168; permanent removal to Lebanon (1930), 175, 206; records of Church property, 168; as secular and religion leader, 51; Simeon as, 83; Sis as seat of, after sacking of Hromkla, 62; in 20th century church hierarchy, 167; and *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 274–75, 276. *See also* Constantine I (Catholicos of Cilicia)
Center for Advanced Genocide Research (Shoah Foundation), 291
Center for the Study of Law and Genocide (Loyola Law School), 272, 365n32

çetes, and Battle of Marash, 15, 135, 137, 141, 147
Childs, W. J., 79–80, 109
Chinese communists, destruction of cultural artifacts, 33
Chookaszian, Levon, 240, 243–44, 360n51
Christianity, Armenian's early adoption of, 64
Christians, Ottoman, early-twentieth-century migration to U.S., 120
Church of Saint John (Zeytun), 95, 102
Church of Saint Nerses (Hromkla), 8–9
Church of the Forty Martyrs (Aleppo): and Aleppo as refugee center, 158–59; damaged Armenian religious texts in, 40–42; Der Nersessian's research at, 211; Surmeyan at, 180, 181, 183
Church of the Holy Mother of God (Aleppo): 180
Church of the Holy Mother of God (Marash): massacre of Armenians seeking refuge from Battle of Marash in, 138, 143
Church of the Holy Mother of God (Zeytun): arrival of Zeytun Gospels at, 85; destruction by fire, 102; modern ruins of, 11; neighborhood of, 95; political functions of, 104; rebuilding of, after fires of 1890s, 104; Zeytun Gospels in, 79, 95, 105–6
Cilicia: Allies' post-World-War-I plans for, 129, 130; arrival of Crusaders in, 50–51; cultural exchanges with Roman Church, 256–57; economic changes of late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, 87; geography of, 49; Getty's interest in manuscripts from, 259; historical ties to West, 241–42; history, before eleventh century, 49–50; medieval society in, 50; migration of Armenians into (tenth century), 49–50; rival Armenian clans of eleventh century, 51
Cilicia, French occupation force in: and Battle of Marash, 137–42; ceding of control to Republic of Turkey, 151; Der Ghazarian's criticisms of, 135; Légion Arménienne and, 130–31; Muslim resentment of, 130–31
Cilicia, Kingdom of: and Armenian art history, central importance in, 227; as Armenian culture, 242; and Armenian Genocide, destruction of artifacts from, 221–22; as cosmopolitan culture, 242; establishment, under Levon I (twelfth century), 53; external threats and internal turmoil, in thirteenth century, 61–62; factional strife after death of Levon I, 54; fall to Mamluks, 63; fluid interactions with surrounding groups, 55–56; fragmentary remnants remaining of splendor and wealth of, 63–64, 221, 227; as high period of Armenian art, 63; Hromkla as spiritual capital of, 49; hybrid cultural forms in, 242; intermarriage and alliances with surrounding groups, 53–54; Mamluk attacks on, 60–61, 62; and Mongols, alliance with, 56–57, 58–59, 60, 62–63; public interest in, in Armenian SSR, 244; special interest of Armenian SSR scholars in, 240–41; trade networks, 53; wealth of, 61, 220. *See also* Hromkla, medieval; manuscripts, Armenian religious
Cilicia, Ottoman rule in: Armenian *dhimmi* communities, 82; conversions to Islam, 82; influx of Muslim settlers, 81–82; quasi-independence of Armenian mountain strongholds, 82. *See also* Ottoman Empire, and Zeytun
Cilicia, Turkish rule in: as end of Armenian hopes, 151, 152; establishment of, 151; and second phase of Armenian Genocide, 28–29, 151, 174
Cilicia Museum, 206
Clinton, Hillary, 365n38
colonialism, and traditional museum acquisition practices, 38
colophons in Armenian religious manuscripts: accumulation in sediments, 70; admonitions against abuse of manuscripts, 69–70; by modern bishop Guleserian, on desecrated

Armenian manuscript, 40–42, 78; patrons and makers recorded on, 67–69; as valuable historical documents, 68–69, 70, 226
colophons by Toros Roslin: limited biographical information in, 228; as primary source of information about Roslin's life, 226; publication of, 228
colophons of the Zeytun Gospels: by Hagop, forbidding further sale of manuscript, 85; history of manuscript described in, 83, 84–85, 326n13; history of Zeytun described in, 104–5; warning to unworthy potential readers, 70, 85; by Zeytun priests, 104–5
Commentary on the Canon Tables (Nerses Klayetsi), 73–76
Committee of Union and Progress (CUP; Young Turks): coup of 1913, 109; design and execution of Armenian genocide by, 161–62; postwar prosecutions of, as historical record, 292–93; postwar trial of leaders, 129; and Young Turk Revolution, 108
Compatriotic Union of Marash, 120, 154, 192
Compatriotic Union of Zeytun, 214, 216, 354n76, 354n80
Constantine (regent of Cilicia), 54
Constantine I (Catholicos of Cilicia): in Davoyan's *Toros Roslin*, 248; death of, 60; Hovsepian's research on, 201; and Mongol rule, 57, 58; as patron of the arts, 55; as patron of Zeytun Gospels, 23, 25, 48; reign as Catholicos, 55
Constantine of Partzrpert. *See* Constantine I (Catholicos of Cilicia)
Constantinople: as Byzantine capital, 51, 54. *See also* Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople
Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), 34–35
cross, Armenian, described, 52
Crusaders: alliances with Cilician groups, 241; arrival in Cilicia, 50–51; cultural influence on Roslin, 59; influence on Cilician culture, 55, 241; intermarriage with Cilicians and Byzantines, 53–54, 56, 244; Marash and, 118
Crusader states: Edessa as, 49; Hromkla as enclave within, 49, 51; Mamluk conquests of, 60, 62; and power struggle in Cilicia, 51, 53, 54
cultural artifacts: cultural importance of, in absence of homeland, 46; deliberate destruction in war, history of, 32–33; deliberate destruction in war, modern efforts to curtail, 33–34
cultural genocide: development of concept, 34–35, 205; difficulty of determining losses from private collections, 164–65; lack of reckoning or restitution for most cases of, 302; reconstruction of culture following, 44–45
cultural genocide against Armenians: Armenians' efforts to preserve artifacts, 117; burning of Monastery of the Holy Mother of God and sacred contents, 111; confiscation of religious and cultural objects from deported Armenians, 164–66; damaged Armenian religious texts in Church of the Forty Martyrs (Aleppo), 40–42; efforts to recover objects after Genocide, 43; efforts to rescue objects during Genocide, 43; erasure of Armenian culture in Zeytun, 11, 18, 113, 114; in massacres of 1909, 108; postwar restitution efforts, 172; theft and sale of religious artifacts, 181, 188–89; *Western Prelacy v. Getty*'s focusing of public attention on, 294. *See also* Armenian Apostolic Church in Armenian Genocide; Armenian culture, preservation of; survivor objects of Armenian culture
cultural heritage, international, development of concept, 33–34
cultural patrimony, ownership of: as central issue in twenty-first-century art history, 26, 36–37, 46; Der Nersessian's scholarship and, 222–23; increased awareness of rights of minorities and persecuted groups,

296–97; ongoing debate on, 39; value of future-oriented view of, 298–99
Cuno, James, 37–39, 282, 283, 290, 317n34

Daredevils of Sasun, 198
Davidian, Dajad, 361n66
Davoyan, Razmik, 232, 247. See also *Toros Roslin* (Davoyan)
Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn ("Dr. Artin"): advanced warning of Armenian removals, 124; as amateur historian and collector, 123–24, 132–33, 154; on Armenian Apostolic Church, 133–34; and Armenian Genocide, lifetime obsession with, 154–56; on Armenians in Marash under Turkish rule, 143; book on Cilicia by, 134; and Cilicia, development of strong identification with, 134; description of, 121, 132; efforts to preserve knowledge of Cilician cultural sites and artifacts, 154; elegant home of, 132; familiarity of name to modern residents of Marash, 16; flight to Adana, 151; on French occupation in Cilicia, 135; friendship with Dr. Elliott, 131–32, 134, 151; at German hospital in Marash, 15, 121; involvement in Armenian political organizations, 134–35, 338n58; priests in family of, 134; as prominent citizen of Marash, 121; rebuilding of career after exile, 152–53; and Roslin, rising fame of, 226; sisters, fate of, 137, 141, 142, 339n81; study of medieval Cilician structures, 133; and Surmeyan's description of Zeytun Gospels, 184–85, 186; as urbane, educated professional, 117, 121–22, 132; wartime reports to international press, 125
Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn, in Aleppo: frequent publications in Armenian press, 154; rebuilding of life, 152–53, 154, 341nn128–29; work on behalf of Armenian refugees, 154
Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn, and Battle of Marash: burning of home in, 138–39, 142; dispatch reports on, 136–37; flight in pursuit of retreating French forces, 141–42; French withdrawal, 139–40; later account of, 137; loss of Zeytun Gospels in, 14, 141, 185, 217, 278; murder of relatives in, 138, 142; murder of sister in leadup to, 137
Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn, and Zeytun Gospels: account of journey of, 184–85, 216–19, 354n80, 355–56n90, 355n87; and Asadur Ishkhan Surenian, friendship with, 116–17, 124; knowledge of Asadur Ishkhan Surenian's possession of, 116–17, 124; lifelong concern about fate of, 155, 218–19; loss of, in Battle of Marash (1920), 14, 141, 185, 217, 278; on return by Turkish looter, 185, 217, 339–40n98; taking possession of, 14, 124–25, 185, 217, 278
Der Ghazarian, Khachadur: as Apostolic Prelate of Marash, 134; and decision to entrust Zeytun Gospels to American missionary, 148, 149, 150; departure from Marash, 150; rebuilding of life after exile, 153, 341n127; and recovery of Zeytun Gospels, 146, 147, 217, 278, 340n98, 340n111; Surmeyan and, 185; turnover of Zeytun Gospels to American missionaries, 213–14, 341n113
Der Movsisian, Mesrob, 226–28
Der Nersessian, Arax, 208, 211
Der Nersessian, Sirarpie: and Armenian Genocide, failure to address in publications, 222–23, 293–94; and Armenian Genocide, flight from, 208; art history training of, 208–9, 222–23; background of, 207, 222; and Byzantine art, redefinition of, 219–20; and cultural patrimony issues, 222–23; and Der Ghazarian, influence on, 155, 156; as expert in Byzantine and Armenian art, 209; and Hovsepian, 199, 223–24; influence of Malachia Ormanian on, 207–8; Kelekian and, 223; large archive of art history photographs, 209–10; as niece of

Malachia Ormanian, 190, 194, 199, 207, 211; as pioneering women in academia, 210–11; as pioneer of Armenian art history, 209, 219–20, 223–24; as professor at Dumbarton Oaks, 210; research in Patriarchate Library, Istanbul, 190; research on medieval Armenian art, 207, 211–12, 220–22; and Roslin, research on, 207, 211–13, 224, 229–30; scholarly publications, 211; as Wellesley College professor, 209–10; work with Soviet researchers, 240. See also *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century* (Der Nersessian)
Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, and Canon Tables: lack of opportunity to inspect, 207, 213; linking of Zeytun Gospels to, 213, 217
Der Nersessian, Sirarpie, and Zeytun Gospels: examination of, 212; linking of Canon Tables to, 213, 217; public awareness of, 216; published article on, 212–13, 216, 281; research on, 207
Der Yeghiayan, Zaven. *See* Zaven Der Yeghiayan (Patriarch of Constantinople)
Der Zor, *xxii*; as destination for Armenian deportees, 31, 113, 124, 130, 158; high death rate of refugees sent to, 113, 125, 158
Deukmejian, George, 264
diaspora, Armenian: and Armenian SSR, migration to, 234, 235; and Armenian SSR, tense relationship with, 233–34; and fiftieth anniversary of Genocide, revival of restitution demands sparked by, 233; importance of Armenian Church for maintaining identity in, 199; internal conflict, 205, 233; from Marash, 119, 120; as permanent state, Armenians' gradual recognition of, 203. *See also* Armenian Americans
Dört Yol, removal of Armenians from, 112
Drampian, Irina, 240
Drampian, Ruben, 240
Dulkadir Beylik, 82
Durnovo, Liddia, 240

Echmiadzin, *xxii*; and Battle of Sardarabad, 196; centennial observances of Armenian Genocide in, 287; Der Nersessian's research in, 211; fundraising for renovation of Holy See in, 197; Hovsepian in, 194, 195; as seat of Catholicos of All Armenians, 276; Soviet takeover of, 197; and World War I, 195–96. *See also* Catholicos of All Armenians, in Echmiadzin
Elliott, Mabel Evelyn: and Battle of Marash, 137, 139, 141, 142; on Der Ghazarian's losses, 155; friendship with Der Ghazarian, 131–32, 134, 151; memoir of, 132, 134, 136
Erzerum, *xxii*, 178, 181, 345n48
Eusebius of Caesarea, 21, 72, 212
Evans, Helen C.: and Canon Tables, identification as part of Zeytun Gospels, 254, 255; as first art historian to see both Zeytun Gospels and Canon Tables, 255; on Roslin, style of, 255–57; and "Treasures in Heaven" exhibition, essay for, 255–57
exhibitions of artworks: impact on value, 258. *See also* Getty Museum display of Canon Tables; "Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts" exhibition (1994)

Fatimid dynasty, 51, 54
Faysal bin Husayn (king), 129, 130
Felch, Jason, 275–76
Focillon, Henri, 208–9, 210
Forty Martyrs Armenian Apostolic Church (Aleppo). *See* Church of the Forty Martyrs (Aleppo)
Frammolino, Ralph, 275–76
France: postwar retention of Syria and Lebanon, 151; and Treaty of Ankara, 151
French occupation of Cilicia: and Battle of Marash, 137–42; ceding of control to Republic of Turkey, 151; Der

Ghazarian's criticisms of, 135; Légion Arménienne and, 130–31; Muslim resentment of, 130–31
French Revolution, destruction of cultural artifacts in, 32
Furnus, *xxii*, 331n89; Monastery of Saint Garabed in, 92
Furnus Monastery: removal of Zeytun Gospels from, 85, 326n17; sacking of, 84–85; Zeytun Gospels in, 83, 84–85

Garabed (Catholicos of Cilicia), 325n9
Garun, 244
genocide: coining of term, 34; forms of, 28. *See also* Armenian Genocide; cultural genocide
Georges-Picot, François, 129–30
Geragos, Mark, 269, 271–72, 364n30
Getty Museum: Armenian manuscripts in collection of, 258–59; Armenian works in "Treasures in Heaven" exhibition (1994), 255, 259; author's ties to, 4; changing exhibitions in, 301; history of buying artworks of dubious provenance, 1, 275, 276, 285, 297; Ludwig collection, acquisition of, 255, 258–59; media interest in scandals associated with, 275–76; as one of world's most important museums and research centers, 301; statues of dubious provenance returned to Italy, 39, 285; stringent new acquisition policies adopted by, 297; views on repatriation of artworks, 282
Getty Museum, Armenian Church of America lawsuit against, for return of Canon Tables. See *Western Prelacy v. Getty*
Getty Museum display of Canon Tables, 20; Armenian families' experience of, 300–301; author's fascination with, 303; in changing exhibitions, 301; and larger art history context, 262–63; paired images, impossibility of displaying together, 19–20, 22; post-lawsuit emendation of provenance label, 23–24, 25, 284; viewers' experience of, 301
Getty Museum purchase of Canon Tables, 2, 258, 362n74; and high level of conservation care required by manuscript, 290; as likely last sale of Roslin-signed work, 258; and manuscript's transition from sacred object to artwork, 259–60, 262; price paid for, 258
Gevorkyan, A., 237
Ghevont Yerets, 196, 351n27
Ghevontiants, feast of, 351n27
Giligia, 120
Ginzburg, Carlo, 295, 296
Giragos (teacher of Toros Roslin), 230
Gorky, Arshile, 245
Gospel Books, Armenian (*Avedaran*): elaborate decoration of, 67, 70–71; special importance of, 67; spiritual blessings accorded to patrons and makers of, 67–68
Gospels of Prince Vasak (Freer Gallery, Ms. F1932.18), 60–61
Gospels of the Lady Keran (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 1965), 321n39
Gospels of Queen Keran (Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate, Ms. 2563), 61, 250, 322n46
Grabar, André, 209
Gregory of Akner, 55
Grigor (son of Vartan), 83–84, 104–5
Guleserian, Papken (Catholicos of Cilicia), 40–42, 77–78
Gurlitt, Cornelius, 316n28

Hagop, Mahdesi, 85, 104–5
Halfeti, Turkey, 7–8, 51
Haratch, 155, 216
Hardy, Bessie M. *See* Lyman, Bessie M. Hardy
Hetum I (king of Cilicia), 54–61, 239, 320n22; in Davoyan's *Toros Roslin*, 247–48
Hetumians, 51
The History of the Armenians of Aleppo (Surmeyan), 187–88
History of the Nation (Ormanian), 208
Hohannes (priest), 237–39

Hohannes (teacher of Toros Roslin), 55, 57, 192, 230, 256
Holocaust: and Nazi looting of Jewish-owned artworks, 35–36, 39; obstacles to recovery of artworks looted in, 35–36, 316n28
Holocaust Art Restitution Project, 286
Holocaust Expropriated Art Recovery Act of 2016, 286
Holocaust restitution movement, 266–69; benefit from well-known nature of crimes, 268; criticisms of, 289; focus on property crimes rather than crimes against persons, 267; Germany's cooperation with, 273; and history of Holocaust, potential distortion of, 293; lawsuit on Pissarro painting, 283; and loss, difficulty of monetizing, 298; as model for Armenian restitution, 266; other restitution movements inspired by, 269; postwar reparations agreements and, 267; and public relations pressures, 268; State of California support for, 280; successes and failures of, 268, 363n15; U.S. courts as venue for, 267, 268–69
Holy Lance, at centenary observances for Armenian Genocide, 287
Homilarium of Mush, saving from destruction, 43–44, 172
Hovhannissian, Grigor, 277
Hoving, Thomas, 36
Hovsepian, Karekin (Catholicos of Cilicia): in Armenian SSR, 196; background of, 194; and Battle of Sardarabad, renown earned in, 196; as Catholicos of Cilicia, 206; and Cilicia Museum, plan for, 206; and Der Nersessian, 223–24; as expert in Armenian miniature painting, 194; on importance of Armenian Church for maintaining diaspora identity, 199; and recognition of medieval Armenian illumination, 204; religious career of, 194, 195, 206, 351n28; scholarly career of, 194–95, 196, 199–200; scholarly career's transformation after Armenian Genocide, 200–202; and Surmeyan, differing strategies of, 199–200; and Zeytun Gospels, lack of opportunity to inspect, 207
Hovsepian, and Canon Tables: first view of, 192; published description and photographs of, 192–93, 202, 205, 279, 281; recognition of Roslin's hand, 192; tracing of origins of, 193
Hovsepian, in U.S.: concern about Armenian future, 205; and development of Armenian art history, 223–24; effort to resolve Armenian Church schism, 197–98; effort to unite Armenian community, 198; planned history of Armenian manuscripts, 200, 294; as primate of American Diocese, 198; search for lost Armenian manuscripts and artworks, 201–2, 202–3, 204; on transformation of Armenian sacred objects into global art commodities, 205
Hovsepian, photographic archive of Armenian art, 194–95, 199; in Cilicia Museum, 206; post-Genocide transformation into memorial to lost works, 200–201
Hromkla, *xxii*; Mamluks' partial rebuilding of, 77; in nineteenth century, Guleserian's description of, 77–78; shrine of Saint Nerses in, 77
Hromkla, medieval: ancient Arab and Turkish names for, 48–49; decline after sacking, 62; and canon table illumination tradition, 76; as center of learning and the arts, 51–52, 55, 61; churches in, 52–53; dispersal of relics in, after sacking, 62; location outside of Armenian Cilicia, 49, 50, 51; manuscripts created in, 239; Mongol Army visit to, 58–59; Nerses Klayetsi in, 72; as religious center of Armenian Church, 49, 51; sacking of (1292), 51, 62, 77, 250–51; sacred relics stored in, 52; as seat of Armenian Catholicos, 49, 51, 52; wealth of, 52
Hromkla castle (Rumkale): modern ruins of, 8–9; as site of Roslin's illumination

work, 7–8, 48–49; Turkish removal of traces of Armenian past from, 9–10, 18
Hulagu (Mongol khan), 58–59
human rights, postwar efforts to codify and protect, 33
Hunchakian Party, 90, 99–100

Information Bureau of the Armenian Patriarchate, 173
Iraq, establishment of, and division of Armenian population, 174
Islahiye, *xxii*; Armenian refugees' march to, in flight from Battle of Marash, 139, 141–42; train depot in, 118, 334n2
Islamic State, destruction of cultural objects by, 46
Istanbul, *xxii*; Armenian Genocide in, 27, 176–77; and Armenian intellectuals, 119; author in, 7; and late-nineteenth-century Armenian renaissance, 78; Patriarch of Constantinople's post-exile move to, 173; Surmeyan in, 176–77, 178; war crimes trials of Young Turks in, 129. *See also* Patriarchate of Istanbul

Jebejian, Avedis, 125–28, 129, 152, 153
Jebejian, Robert, 129, 153
Jelali Revolts, 83, 85
Jerusalem, *xxii*. *See also* Patriarchate of Jerusalem
Jews: in Marash, departure of, 16; Nazi looting of artworks owned by, 35–36, 39; postwar recovery of Nazi-seized Torah scrolls and liturgical objects, 39–40. *See also* entries under Holocaust
J. Paul Getty Museum. *See* Getty Museum
J. Paul Getty Trust, 1, 37, 282

Kabateck, Brian, 271, 272, 364n29
Kalustian, Krikor, 152, 154
Kalustian, Shnorhk (Patriarch of Constantinople), 235, 358n26
Kapsaris, Daniel, 191
Kardashian, Kim, 264
Karekin I Khachadurian (Patriarch of Constantinople), 190, 354n75
Karekin I Hovsepian (Catholicos of Cilicia). *See* Hovsepian, Karekin
Karekin II Nersessian (Catholicos of All Armenians), 276
Kaykhusraw II, Ghiyath al-Din (Seljuk sultan), 56, 320n22
Kelekian, Dikran: Der Nersessian and, 223, 356n107; and development of Armenian art history, 223–24; and recovery of Armenian survivor manuscripts, 202–3, 204
Kelsey, Francis W., 171
Kemal, Mustafa. *See* Atatürk
Keran (queen of Cilicia), 61, 250
Kerkorian, Kirk, 264
Kerr, Stanley: and Battle of Marash, 136, 137, 138, 139, 142, 143; career after fall of Marash, 153–54; in Marash Near East Relief office, 132; memoir of, 154; and Turkish stoning of Armenians departing Marash, 150
Kevork V (Catholicos of All Armenians), 195
Khach-Alem (cross-flag) of Zeytun, 101, 111
Khachikyan, Levon, 235, 236
Khachkars (cross-stones), 52, 77, 94, 180
Khan, Abraham, 281–82, 283
Khoren I (Catholicos of All Armenians), 196, 197, 198
Khrushchev, Nikita, 231
Khulmunian, Levon, 111, 113
Klimt, Gustav, 36, 269
Kogh Vasil. *See* Basil the Brigand
Konya, *xxii*, 51, 113, 178
Kouymjian, Dickran, 292

Lausanne Treaty (1923), 175
lawsuits in U.S. system, information brought to light during, 291–92
Lebanon, establishment of, and division of Armenian population, 174
Légion Arménienne, 130–31
Lemkin, Raphael, 34
Levon (prince of Cilicia; son of Hetum I), 59, 60–61, 237–38, 239

Levon I the Magnificent (king of Cilicia), 53, 54
Levon V (king of Cilicia), 63
Lewis, Sinclair, 223
Li, Luis, 367n69
Il Libro di Mush (Arslan), 43–44
The Life of Forms (Focillon), 208–9
Lions of Marash (Kerr), 136
Los Angeles: Armenian Genocide memorials in, 265; as dystopian space, 263
Los Angeles Armenian community: diversity of, 263–64; ethnic identity, pride in, 264; as one of largest Armenian communities in world, 5, 263; prominence of genocide commemoration and activism in, 264–65; waves of migrations to, 263
Los Angeles Times, 4–6, 275–76, 282
Ludwig collection: Getty Museum acquisition of, 255, 258–59; as last great private collection of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, 258–59
Lyman, Bessie M. Hardy, 193–94, 215
Lyman, James K.: Atamian family's search for in U.S., 193–94, 349n10; and Battle of Marash, 137; in Istanbul, 215
Lyman, and Zeytun Gospels: claimed theft of by Turkish looters, 193, 194; delivery to Istanbul Patriarchate, 213–15, 278, 354n76, 354n80; receipt of, 149–50, 278, 341n113, 341n115
Lyman, in Marash: Armenians' trust of, 215; dates of residency, 350n15; forced departure, 214–15, 349–50n14; missionary work, 120, 132; under Turkish rule, 153

Making Whole What Has been Smashed (Torpey), 298
Maksoudian, Krikor, 254, 361n66
Malatya Gospels (Matenadaran, Ms. 10675), 321n40, 323n55, 353n69, 362n76
Mamigonian, Vartan, 196
Mamluks: attacks on Cilicia, 60–61, 62, 63; defeat of Mongols (1260), 59, 60; defeat of Mongols (1281), 322n49; sacking of Hromkla (1292), 51, 62, 77
Mandate of League of Nations, and French mandates in Middle East, 151
Manoukian, Aram, 369n100
manuscripts, Armenian religious: calligraphy, types of, 71; colophons recording patrons and makers of, 67–69; community interaction with, 70, 105; elaborate decoration of, 64, 67, 70–71; holding for ransom, 69–70; illuminations in, as highly codified, 71; illuminations' variation by patron and artist, 71–72; marginal illustrations and doodles, 72; preservation in religious institutions, 64; special decoration lavished on, 64; spiritual blessings accorded to patrons and makers of, 67–68; transition into global art commodities, 203–5, 257–58. *See also* Bible, Armenian; Bible Gospel Books, Armenian (*Avedaran*); colophons in Armenian religious manuscripts; Zeytun Gospels
Marash, *xxii*; anti-Armenian memorials to Battle of Marash in, 14–15; Armenians in, as educated and Westernized, 118–19; author's visit to, 14–18; burning of German hospital in, 151–52; departure of Jews from, 16; European missionary activity in, 119–20; history of, 118; hospitality of residents, 17–18; incorporation into Republic of Turkey, 151; massacre of Alevis in (1978), 17; nineteenth-century influx of Muslim settlers, 89; in Ottoman bureaucratic hierarchy, 86; postwar expulsion of Germans from, 131; postwar occupation of, 128–29; postwar return of Armenian survivors, 130; public executions of Armenian rebels in, 121; residents' migration to U.S., 120; road to Zeytun from, 10, 79–80; rumors of treasure buried by Armenian residents, 17; as thriving provincial capital in early twentieth century, 118–19; Turkish removal of traces

of Armenian past from, 18; Turkish renaming as Kahramanmaraş, 118, 152; Turkish residents' guilt-free portrait of town history, 17; Turkish residents' memories of Armenians, 15–17; Turkish residents' silence on fate of former Armenian residents, 15, 16
Marash (Kalustian), 154
Marash, Battle of (1920), 14–15, 135–44; American community in Marash and, 137–38, 139, 142–43; Armenian efforts at self-defense, 139–40; Armenian group opting to following retreating French forces, 140–41; deaths of fleeing Armenians from disease and harsh weather, 141–42; Der Ghazarian's loss of Zeytun Gospels in, 14, 141, 185; destruction of Armenian presence in city, 143–44; events leading to, 135–37; French withdrawal, 139, 140; gathering of Armenians in churches, 138, 139–40, 140–41, 142–43; high Armenian death toll in, 143; Turkish denial of food or medicine to Armenians, 143; Turkish destruction of Armenian neighborhoods and churches, 138, 143, 144; Turkish looting of Armenian property, 143, 144; Turkish slaughter of Armenians, 138, 141; Turkish version of events in, 14–15, 136, 152. *See also* Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn, and Battle of Marash
Marash, deportation of Armenians from, 125; awareness of developing Genocide, 121; Der Ghazarian's advanced warning of, 124; implementation in stages, 121; and life in exile, 151–52
Marash, Monsignor of, 79, 106
Marash, Zeytun Gospels in: arrival of, 115; decision to entrust American missionary with, 148–49; delivery to American missionary, 148–50; Der Ghazarian's knowledge of, 116–17, 124; Der Ghazarian's loss of, in Battle of Marash (1920), 14, 16, 141, 185; Der Ghazarian's taking possession of, 14, 124–25; Ishkan Asadur's transport to Marash, 14, 114–15, 117, 155, 184–85; Ishkhan Asadur's care of, 116–17, 124; postwar impossibility of safely removing, 148–49; recovery from snowy street by Turkish looter, 144–45, 185, 339–40nn98–99; survival of Battle of Marash, as anomaly, 148; transport to Patriarchate in Istanbul, 213–15; Turkish looter's return of, 145–48, 185, 217, 278
Marash Compatriotic Union, 120, 154, 192
Mardirossian, Moushegh, 276, 285
Mari, Battle of (1266), 60
Marmara, 216
Marootian et. al. v. New York Life Insurance Company, 269–70, 291
Mashtots, Mesrob, 65, 236
Matenadaran (Mesrob Mashtots Institute for Ancient Manuscripts): and Cilician Kingdom, special interest in, 240–41; collection and conservation of manuscripts, 237; as crucial institution in preservation of Armenian culture, 235; as greatest repository of Armenian manuscripts, 237; Homilarium of Mush in, 172; location in Yerevan city plan, 235–36; namesake of, 65; research on Roslin, 237–40; Roslin manuscripts discovered by, 237–39; statue of Roslin on façade of, 231, 237; statues of notable Armenians on façade of, 236–37; support for scholars of Armenian culture, 237; as symbol of Armenian statehood, 235; ties to Armenian Church, 235; and *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 277
Matenadaran, Zeytun Gospels in: arrival without Canon Tables, 2; and crafting of new history of Soviet Armenians, 253; transfer from Patriarchate of Istanbul, 231, 235, 358nn26–27; and transition from sacred object to artwork, 7, 259–60
Matevosyan, Artashes, 239
Mathews, Thomas F., 254

medieval cultures, fragmentary remnants remaining of splendor and wealth of, 63–64
Medz Yeghern (the Great Crime). *See* Armenian Genocide
Mehmet II (Ottoman sultan), 167
Mekhitarian monastery, Venice: collection of Armenian manuscripts, 237; Der Movsisian's research in, 228; Der Nersessian's research in, 211
Menil, Dominique de, 4–5
Menil Collection Byzantine Fresco Chapel (Houston), 5, 313n5
Mesrob Mashtots Institute for Ancient Manuscripts. *See* Matenadaran
Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Euphronios Krater acquisition, 36, 38
Middle East, American educational institutions in, 121–22
Mikayel (son of Bargham), 63
Millet, Gabriel, 208
Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century (Der Nersessian), 207, 220–22; absence of introduction or conclusion in, 220; Der Nersessian's struggle to complete, 220; silence on Armenian Genocide, 221–23
Monastery of Holy Mother of God (near Zeytun), 92, 97, 101, 111
Monastery of Saint Garabed (Saint John the Precursor), 92, 93
Monastery of Saint James (Jerusalem): Hovsepian's study of manuscripts in, 195; preservation of religious manuscripts in, 64; as seat of Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, 64, 167, 323n55
Monastery of the Holy Apostles (near Mush), burning of, 43–44, 172
Monastery of the Holy Redeemer (near Ilıca), 92, 93
Möngke (Mongol khan), 56–57; in Davoyan's *Toros Roslin*, 247
Mongols: adoption of Islam, 62–63; Cilician alliance with, 56–57, 58–59, 60, 62–63; in Davoyan's *Toros Roslin*, 247–48; defeat by Mamluks (1260), 59, 60; defeat by Mamluks (1281), 322n49; visit of Hulagu's Army to Hromkla, 58–59
Monuments Men, 33
Morrison, Elizabeth, 279, 290, 313n1, 314n3, 347n95, 348n101, 362n79, 366n56, 366n57
Movsesian v. Victoria Versicherung A.G., 365nn37–38
Muhabbertji (Siragan; the Friends), 88
Murad IV (Ottoman sultan), 83
museums: cultural patrimony as central issue in twenty first century, 26, 36–37, 296–97; curation and display practices, critiques of, 4, 46
museums, traditional acquisition practices, 36; critiques of, 4, 38–39, 317n36, 317n38; defenders of, 37–38, 282, 317n34; Getty's tightening of, 297; museums' tightening of, 36–37; turn of public opinion against, 36; UNESCO standards for, 297
Mush, *xxii*. *See also* Homilarium of Mush

Nagorno-Karabakh region, 194; Davoyan's *Toros Roslin* on, 251–52
Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), 35
Native Americans: cultural heritage protections in U.S., 35; and cultural patrimony issues, 46
Nazi Germany: destruction of "degenerate" art, 32–33; difficulty of recovering artworks looted by, 35–36, 316n28; Jewish survivors' recovery of Torah scrolls and liturgical objects seized by, 39–40; looting of artworks by, 26–27, 39. *See also* entries under Holocaust
Near East Relief, 131, 132, 137, 139, 143, 152, 153, 175
Nerses Klayetsi (Shnorhali) (Catholicos of Cilicia): "Aravot Luso" hymn by, 77; as Catholicos, 73, 77; as scholar in Hromkla, 72; on images, religious value of, 73–74, 76; shrine to, in Hromkla, 77; on symbolism of canon tables, 74–76

Nerses of Lampron, 256
New York: Atamian family arrival in, 190–91, 348n1; as center of Armenian immigration, 223
New York Life Insurance Co., 269–70
Nubar, Boghos 173

Ormanian, Malachia (Patriarch of Constantinople): and Armenian Genocide, 208; as Armenian Patriarch of the Ottoman Empire, 208; history of Armenian nation by, 208; Hovsepian and, 194; influence on Der Nersessian, 207–8; as uncle of Der Nersessian, 190, 194, 199, 207, 211
Oshagan, Hagop, 201
Ottoman Empire: and Armenian Genocide, 27–28; and Armenian insurrection of 1895-96, 89–90, 92, 93–94, 99–100, 101, 107; Armenians in, high number of medical professionals, 122; constitution of 1908, 105; coup of 1913, 109; defeat in Balkan Wars of 1912-13, 109; fall of, 28; nineteenth century tightening of administrative control over Armenian towns, 86, 88–90, 107; rule of Cilicia from sixteenth century to first world war, 82; and Young Turk Revolution, 107–8. *See also* Armenian Genocide; Armenian property, confiscation and theft of; Committee of Union and Progress
Ottoman Empire rule in Cilicia: Armenian *dhimmi* communities, 82; conversions to Islam, 82; influx of Muslim settlers, 81–82; quasi-independence of Armenian mountain strongholds, 82. *See also* Ottoman Empire, and Zeytun
Ottoman Empire, in World War I: Armenian labor battalions in, 131; entry into, 109; surrender, 128; Zeytun resistance to draft, and Ottoman backlash, 109–11
Ottoman Empire, and Zeytun: 1895-96 insurrection, 89–90, 92–94, 99–100, 101, 107; armed resistance to Ottoman authority, 89–90; clash with Ottoman authorities (1862), 99, 101, 331n85; interference in politics of, 107, 110; Ottoman Army barracks constructed outside of, 92–93, 96; Ottoman officials in, 96; Ottoman tightening of administrative control, 86, 88–90, 107; and Zeytun resistance to World War I draft, 109–11; Zeytun's preparations for attack, 109, 333n124

Palestine, establishment of, and division of Armenian population, 174
Panama Papers, 46
Panofsky, Erwin, 210
Paris Peace Conference (1919), 128; Armenian restitution efforts at, 173
Partridge, Ernest, 171, 184
Paul, Léon, 102
Pierpont Morgan Library: discovery of Canon Tables, 254; "Treasures in Heaven" exhibition (1994), 254–58
Pissarro, Camille, 283
P.L.U.C.K. (1998 song), 266
Polo, Marco, 61
Portrait of Adele Bloch-Bauer I (Klimt), 36
Potts, Timothy, 282, 285
Proodian, Vatche, 288–89
provenance of artworks: and battles over ownership of cultural patrimony, 26; clearly-defined, 24–25; definition of, 24; fraudulent, 26–27; importance to significance and value, 24; incomplete or inaccurate, 25–26
provenance of Canon Tables: Getty's post-lawsuit emendation of, 23–24, 25, 284; as issue in *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 277–79; stories represented in, 27
Pyurad, Sempad, 96, 108

Qalawun (Mamluk sultan), 322n49
Quataert, Donald, 29

Ramadanids, 91
Ramazanoğlu Beylik, 82

Reims Cathedral, German shelling in World War I, 32
Reliquary of Skevra, 62, 287, 322n52
restitution and reparations, 296–99; author's absorption into issue, 6; current interest in, 301–2; as difficult issue in practice, 297–98; future-oriented, value of, 298–99; increased awareness of rights of minorities and persecuted groups, 26, 36–37, 46, 296–97; interest in, as response to collapse of future, 298. *See also* cultural patrimony, ownership of; Holocaust restitution movement
restitution for Armenian Genocide, 269–74; as dead issue in 1930s, 204, 205; debate on nature and likelihood of, 265; diaspora as primary pursuers of, 277; end of, with Kemalist takeover, 173, 174; as focus of Armenian community, 265–66; history of calls for, 265; postwar efforts toward, 172–75; repercussions of *Western Prelacy v. Getty* and, 285–86; revival of demands for, sparked by fiftieth anniversary of Genocide, 233
restitution for Armenian Genocide, lawsuits in: attorney involved in, 271–72; failed lawsuits, 270, 364n23; focus on property crimes rather than crimes against persons, 270; historical information brought to light during, 291–92, 293–94; Holocaust restitution as model for, 266–69, 270; lawyers as main beneficiaries of, 288–89; obstacles to pursuit of, 270–71; political factors undermining, after 2013, 274, 365n38; publicity benefits from, 272, 293; public recognition of Armenian Genocide as one goal of, 273–74, 284–85, 292; against Republic of Turkey, 270; settlements, uses of funds from, 272; State of California support for, 271, 280; statute of limitations and, 270, 271, 280–82; successful, for unpaid insurance claims, 269–70, 292; Turkish efforts to stop, 270, 273, 274; and use of facts in history vs. law, 295–96
Roslin, Anton, 229–30
Roslin, Toros: Armenian SSR's rediscovery as a great artist, 253; and Arshile Gorky, 245; Avetisyan murals depicting, 245–46; biographical information on, 63, 226, 228, 229–30, 243–44, 360n51; calligraphy types used by, 71; celebration of, by Armenian SSR artists and writers, 245–53; cosmopolitanism of, 242–43; Davoyan novel on, 225, 247–53, 299, 361n58; Der Nersessian's research on, 207, 211–13, 224, 229–30; European orientation of, 242–43, 256–57; first scholarly work on, 226–27; Hovsepian's research on, 64, 201; Hromkla castle as site of scriptorium of, 7–8, 48–49; illumination of Canon Tables, 3, 21, 48; illumination of Zeytun Gospels, 57–58; influence of Hromkla artistic tradition on, 76; influence on Armenian manuscript painting, 256, 257; as little known, before second half of twentieth century, 226, 229; loss of most historical records on, 63; on Mamluks' conquest of Cilicia, 60; Matenadaran's research on, 237–40; and Mongol rule, 58–59; as one of greatest medieval Armenian artists, 3; rise to prominence in twentieth century Armenian art history, 225–26, 226–27, 228–31, 239–40, 242, 244–45; as source of pride in Armenian public, 226, 244; statue of, on façade of Matenadaran, 231, 237; style of, 57–58, 59, 256–57; surname of, as European, 228, 243; as symbol of Armenia's sophisticated artistic heritage, 242–43, 253, 260; teachers of, 55, 57, 192, 230, 256; training of, 57; Zeytun Gospels as first known work of, 57
Roslin, colophons by, 69; limited biographical information in, 228; as primary source of information about his life, 226; publication of, 228
Roslin, manuscripts of, 58–60, 61, 211, 321n39, 362n76; discovered by Matenadaran researchers, 237–39; in library of Patriarchate of Jerusalem,

64, 202; surviving, 63, 64. *See also* Canon Tables from Zeytun Gospels; Sivas Gospels; Zeytun Gospels; Gospels of the Lady Keran; Gospels of Prince Vasak; Gospels of Queen Keran; Malatya Gospels
Ruben, 50
Rubenians, 51, 54
Rumkale. *See* Hromkla castle

Sahag II Khabayan (Catholicos of Cilicia), 166, 168, 175
Saint Gregory, relic of the right arm of: capture by Mamluk invaders, 62; at centenary observances for Armenian Genocide, 287; Cilicia Museum and, 206; in medieval Hromkla, 52
Saladin (Ayyubid sultan), 53
Sanudo, Marino, 61
Sardarabad, Battle of (1918), 196
Saroyan, William, 204
Sassounian, Hampig, 364n30
scholarship on artworks, impact on value, 258
Seljuk dynasty, 49–50, 51, 56, 82
Sempad (constable of Cilicia), 56, 60
Sevak, Paruyr, 247
Shnorhali. *See* Nerses Klayetsi
Shoah Foundation (University of Southern California), 291
Shoghagat, 212, 216, 279
Shorvoghlian, Aram, 216, 354n80
Shovroyan clan of Zeytun, 95, 102, 103
Siamanto, 176, 177
Simeon of Poland, 85
Siragan (Muhabbertji; the Friends), 88
Sis, *xxii*; Mongols' burning of cathedral at, 60; as seat of Catholicos of Cilicia, after sacking of Hromkla, 62
Sivas, *xxii*
Sivas Gospels (Walters Art Museum, Ms. 539): calligraphy used in, 71; described, 59; donation to Walters Art Museum, 203; Hovsepian's effort to recover, 202–3; Hovsepian's study of, 195; transformation from sacred object to global art commodity, 203, 204; in "Treasures in Heaven" exhibition (1994), 255
Skevra, *xxii*; medieval scriptorium at, 256. *See also* Reliquary of Skevra
Slyomovics, Susan, 298
Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, 90, 99–100
Soviet Union: art historiography, European influence on, 241–42; Davoyan's critique of, in *Toros Roslin*, 251–52. *See also* Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic
Stalin, Josef, 231, 234
Süleyman, Major, 13, 111, 113
Süleymanlı, Turkey. *See* Zeytun
Süleyman the Magnificent (Ottoman sultan), 83
Surenian, Asadur Agha: description of, 116, 123; exile of, 14; family of, 105; wealth of, in Zeytun, 107
Surenian, Asadur Agha, in Marash: deportation and death of, 125; trappings of power maintained by, 116–17, 123–24
Surenian, Asadur Agha, and Zeytun Gospels: care of, 116–17, 124; transport to Marash, 114–15, 117, 184–85, 278; turnover to Der Ghazarian, 14, 124–25, 185, 216, 278
Surenian, Bab Agha, 114
Surenian, Nazaret, 98–99
Surenian clan of Zeytun, 95–99, 102–3, 104, 105, 114; decimation in Armenian Genocide, 124
Surmeyan, Ardavazt: background and early life, 176–77; examination and description of Zeytun Gospels, 176–77, 182–83, 184–86, 202, 215, 279, 348nn98–101; experiences during Armenian Genocide, 177; *History of the Armenians of Aleppo* by, 187–88; and Hovsepian, differing strategies of, 199–200; imprisonment by Kemalists, 178; as Prelate of Aleppo, 155; publications by, 180; rise in Church hierarchy, 178; scholarly research of, 199–200; turn from secular life to priesthood, 177–78
Surmeyan, in postwar Aleppo: and Armenian refugees, care for, 157, 159; cataloging of Armenian manuscripts,

180–82, 182–87, 294; collection and preservation of Armenian manuscripts, 176, 182, 187; help for Armenian refugees, 176, 179–80, 187–88, 199; love of Aleppo's rich Armenian history, 180; as Prelate, 178–79; work to restore Armenian community, 178
survivor objects, 40; Jewish Torah scrolls and liturgical objects as, 40; special responsibility of collectors and viewers of, 44–45
survivor objects of Armenian culture: as analog of Armenian survivors, 5, 18, 41, 42, 45, 303; Canon Tables as, 302; importance to survivors, 40–45; in Matenadaran collection, 238; obstacles to research on, 43; Roslin's manuscripts as, as statement on resilience of Armenian people, 249–50, 252–53; as small part of original volume of work, 63–64, 221, 227; as symbols of forward-facing resilience, 302; transformed significance of, 302, 303; Zeytun Gospels as, 40–41, 302
Sykes, Mark, 129–30, 328n49
Sykes-Picot Agreement, 129–30
Syria, creation of modern republic, 129

Talaat Pasha, 112, 163, 170
Taliban, destruction of cultural artifacts, 33
Tamanian, Aleksandr, 236, 351n28
Tamrazyan, Hrachya, 277
Tashnags. *See* Armenian Revolutionary Federation
Tashnagtsutiun. *See* Armenian Revolutionary Federation
Taurus Mountains, Armenian monasteries and churches in: apostolic founders of, 92; preservation of Armenian culture after fall of Cilician Kingdom, 91–92
Temporary Law on deportation (1915), 161–62
Temporary Law on the property, liabilities, and debts owed to deported persons (1915), 162, 165, 166
Ter-Petrossian, Levon, 240–41
Tevrizian, Dickran M., Jr., 367n69
Topography of Cilicia (Der Ghazarian), 154
Toros (prince of Cilicia), 60, 63
Toros Roslin (Davoyan), 247–53; on Armenian creativity and resilience, impossibility of defeating, 249–50, 252–53; on artist as privileged representative of his people, 252; and future-oriented view of patrimony, 299; plot of, 247–51; political message underlying, 251–53; publication in New York, 247; Roslin in, 248–49, 250–51; Soviet censoring of, 247, 361n58; writing of, 225
Torpey, John, 298
Tourian, Leon, 197
Trdat, 229
"Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts" exhibition (1994), 254–58; and economic value of Canon Tables, 257–58; as first exhibition of Canon Tables, 254, 255; as first U.S. exhibition of Armenian book arts, 254; Getty works in, 255, 259; as landmark event in study of medieval Armenian miniature painting, 255, 257; and *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 281; works displayed in, 254–55
Treaty of Ankara (1921), 151
Treaty of Sèvres (1920), 128
Turkey, Republic of: and Cilicia, consolidation of control over, 151; establishment of, and end of Armenian restitution efforts, 173, 174; founding of, 151; harsh treatment of Armenians in, 216; lawsuits against, for Armenian Genocide restitution, 270; and non-Muslim minorities, persecution of, 28, 29. *See also* Armenian areas of Turkey
Turkey, Republic of, and Armenian Genocide, 28–29, 151, 174; efforts to stop restitution efforts, 270, 273, 274, 365n37, 365nn37–38; efforts to stop returning Armenians, 174; impact of official denials on historical research, 29–30, 43; official denials of, 3, 28,

29, 265; resistance to use of Genocide term, 273
Turkish Muslims: lack of knowledge about Christian tradition, 8, 16; silence on Armenian Genocide, 9
Turkish War for Independence, and Battle of Marash, 14–15, 135–36. *See also* Marash, Battle of

UNESCO, standards for museum acquisitions, 297
United Nations: Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), 34–35; and international cultural heritage, protection of, 33–34; Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), 33
United States: early-twentieth-century migration from Anatolia and Levantine coast, 120; educational institutions in Middle East, 121–22; transport of Canon Tables to, 2. *See also* Armenian Americans
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), 33
University of Southern California, Armenian Studies Program, 290
Urfa, *xxii*

Valland, Rose, 27
Vardan, 57–58
Vasak (prince of Cilicia), 60–61
Vasilosian clan of Zeytun, 98
Vazken (Catholicos of All Armenians), 235

Walters, Henry, 203
war, deliberate destruction of cultural artifacts in: history of, 32–33; modern efforts to curtail, 33–34
Watertown, Mass.: Armenian community in, 192; Canon Tables in, with Atamian family, 192–93, 254
Western Prelacy v. Getty, 1–6, 274–77; and Armenian art, directing of public's attention to, 295; author's interest in, 4, 6–7; author's op-ed on potential resolution of, 4–6; California's Stolen Art Recovery Statute and, 282–83, 285–86, 367n60; and Canon Tables as symbol of Armenian losses in Genocide, 3; conservation of Canon Tables as issue in, 290; court-ordered mediation, 282; damages sought in, 1, 262, 275; on date of Canon Tables arrive in U.S., 349n3; extensive researching of facts for, 279, 292; filing of, 1, 262, 274; Getty leadership's views on repatriation and, 282, 283; Getty's claim to ownership, 2, 275, 278–79, 282; historical information brought to light during, 292, 293–94; history of Canon Tables presented in complaint, 2; and importance of survivor artifacts to Armenians, 44, 45; interest in, in Republic of Armenia, 277; negotiations during, 261, 285, 367n69; and new focus on cultural facet of Armenian Genocide, 294; as only suit for restitution of looted Armenian cultural heritage, 275; plaintiff's argument in, 275; power of cultural institutions and, 37; power of Getty Museum and, 282; provenance as issue in, 277–79; public and media interest in, 262, 281, 285; and public pressure, 285; public recognition of Armenian Genocide as one goal of, 284–85, 292; statute of limitations as issue in, 280–82
Western Prelacy v. Getty, settlement in, 18, 283–84; Armenian Church's donation of Canon Tables, 24, 25, 283–84; Armenian communities' reactions to, 286, 287–90; emendation of provenance label required by, 23–24, 25, 284; as forward-looking, 302; Getty reception in celebration of, 285; as model for successful compromise, 301–2; and potential for Getty involvement in Armenian cultural issues, 285, 290–91; repercussions of, 285–86, 369n92; and targeting of other than Genocide perpetrators, 275; on transfer of Zeytun Gospels to Lyman, 341n113; and use of facts

in history vs. law, 295–96; Western Prelacy as actor, 274–75, 276–77
Who Owns Antiquity? (Cuno), 37
Wieck, Roger S., 254
Wölfflin, Heinrich, 208
The Woman in Gold (2015 film), 36
World War I: Allies' postwar plans for Cilicia, 129, 130; Allies' postwar plans for Middle East, 129–30; Allies' postwar promises to Armenians, 130; and Armenian Genocide, 2; Armenians' postwar hopes for justice, 129; German shelling of Reims Cathedral in, 32; Paris Peace Conference of 1919, 128; wartime diary of Dr. Jebejian, 125–28. *See also* Armenian Genocide; Ottoman Empire, in World War I
World War II: Allied efforts to protect cultural artifacts in, 33; postwar efforts to protect cultural artifacts, 33–34; postwar efforts to protect human rights, 33

Yaghubian clan of Zeytun, 95
Yeghiayan, Vartkes: arguments in *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 3; background of, 271; on Holocaust restitution as model, 266, 269; lawsuit against German banks associated with Armenian Genocide, 364n23; lawsuit on unpaid Genocide insurance claims, 3, 269, 291; and *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 271, 273–74, 280, 288
Yenidünyayan, Nazaret, 100, 107, 110
Yenidünyayan (Norashkharhian) clan of Zeytun, 95, 99

Yerevan, *xxii*; Avetisyan murals of Toros Roslin in, 245–47; Davoyan in, 225; location of Matenadaran in city plan, 235–36; protests on fiftieth anniversary of Armenian Genocide, 232–33; Soviet redesign of, 236. *See also* Matenadaran
Young Turk Revolution, 107–8; punishment of Armenians for support of, 108
Young Turks. *See* Committee of Union and Progress

Zabel [Isabella] (queen of Cilicia), 54
Zareh I Payaslian (Catholicos of Cilicia), 338n57
Zarobyan, Yakov (Hakob), 233
Zavarian, Simon, 338n58
Zaven Der Yeghiayan (Patriarch of Constantinople), 167–68, 173
Zeytun, *xxii*; Armenian cemeteries near, 12; Armenian Genocide in, 2, 27–28; Armenian monasteries near, 92; author's visit to, 10–14; churches in, 95; early-twentieth-century preparations for Ottoman attack, 109, 333n124; economic conditions, late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, 87–88, 102, 107; ethnic and religious mix of surrounding region, 91; famous muleteers of, 10; fire of 1884, 95, 102; fire of 1887, 102; fire of 1915, 113; first mentions in historical record, 81, 82; founding and early history of, 81–82, 82–83; fountain of Bagh-Aghpyur in, 10–11, 94, 113; hospitality of residents, 11–12, 14; hot springs near, 10; as isolated mountain settlement, 79–80, 81, 94; and Jelali Revolts, 83, 85; layout of town, 94; mining industry in, 87–88; modern amenities, slow arrival of, 96; monument near, commemorating Turkish suppression of Armenian rebellions, 13–14; Muslim population of surrounding region, 96; origin of name, 82, 325n9; population in 1617, 85; population in late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, 86; quasi-autonomy under Muslim rule, 83; residents' reputation for fierce independence, 80, 90, 100; school system in, 96; Turkish removal of traces of Armenian past from, 11, 18, 113, 114; Turkish renaming as Süleymanlı, 13, 113; and World War I, resistance to draft, and Ottoman backlash, 109–11; and Young Turk Revolution, 108
Zeytun, culture of: architecture, 94–95; clan-based governance system, 95, 96–98, 99; clan conflict, 99, 100; clan

leaders (*ishkhans*), power of, 96–98, 105–6, 107; medieval vestiges in, 91, 98; neighborhoods, 95; religious enthusiasm of, 102; religious relics, destruction in fires of 1884 and 1887, 102; religious relics, large cache of, 102; religious relics displayed before or carried into battle, 101; religious traditions and local lore, 91; sacred sites in and around town, 93, 101; songs and poems, 88, 100–101, 113
Zeytun, exile of all residents in Genocide, 111–12; confiscation and redistribution of property to Muslims, 112–13; as genocide, 114; government loyalists and, 114–15; government promises of compensation to residents, 112; government's blaming of residents for, 114; military exigencies cited for, 111–12; and removal of Zeytun Gospels from Zeytun, 114–15; torments and deaths in, 113–14; Zeytun Gospel as only surviving relic of, 115
Zeytun, in nineteenth century: 1895–96 insurrection, 89–90, 92–94, 99–100, 101, 107; armed resistance to Ottoman authority, 89–90; Armenians as vast majority in, 86–87; clash with Ottoman authorities (1862), 99, 101, 331n85; cultural and religious changes in, 88; fire of 1887, 102; great fire of 1884, 95, 102; increased tension with Muslims, 90; influx of Muslim settlers, 89; Ottoman Army barracks constructed outside of, 92–93, 96; Ottoman interference in politics of, 107, 110; Ottoman officials in, 96; Ottoman tightening of administrative control, 86, 88–90, 107; reputation for fierce independence, 90, 100
Zeytun, Zeytun Gospels in, 2, 10, 11; access to, as highly restricted, 103–4, 105–6; arrival from Furnus monastery, 85; offers to purchase, 79, 106; removal during Armenian Genocide, 2, 14, 21, 114–15; from sixteenth or seventeenth century until late Ottoman period, 85–86; special storage of, 79, 105–6. *See also* Church of the Holy Mother of God (Zeytun)
Zeytun Compatriotic Union, 214, 216, 354n76, 354n80
Zeytun Gospels (Matenadaran, Ms. 10450): as analog of dismemberment of Armenian community in Genocide, 5, 18, 45; binding, ornamentation on, 83–84, 326n14; binding damage, in Battle of Marash, 145; calligraphy used in, 71; at centenary observances for Armenian Genocide, 287; community interaction with, 105; creation of (1256), 2; described, 21, 212; first publication of miniatures from, 243; Hovsepian's research on, 201–2; illumination, described, 57–58; and importance of survivor artifacts to Armenians, 43, 44; letter of Eusebius in, 72, 212; limited scholarly documentation before 1915, 171; location of Canon Tables in, 2–3; as only medieval relic remaining from Zeytun's rich heritage, 23; Roslin's colophon in, 69; scholars' inspection of, in late nineteenth–early twentieth centuries, 103–4; sources of information on, 43; spiritual power attributed to, 2, 21, 79, 101, 103, 104, 106, 216; survival of Zeytun fires of 1880s, 102; as survivor object, and transformed significance, 40–41, 302; as talisman for Zeytun warriors, 101. *See also* Canon Tables' removal from Zeytun Gospels
Zeytun Gospels, in Zeytun church, 2, 10, 11; access to, as highly restricted, 103–4, 105–6; arrival from Furnus monastery, 85; offers to purchase, 79, 106; removal during Armenian Genocide, 2, 14, 21, 114–15; from sixteenth or seventeenth century until late Ottoman period, 85–86; special storage of, 79, 105–6. *See also* Church of the Holy Mother of God (Zeytun)
Zeytun Gospels, journey of, *xii*; author's decision to trace, 7; Der Ghazarian's account of, 184–85, 216–19, 354n80,

355–56n90, 355n87; removal from Furnus to Zeytun, 85, 326n17; removal from Zeytun, during Armenian Genocide, 2, 14, 21, 114–15; still-missing information about, 279; and structure of this book, 45; versions offered in *Western Prelacy v. Getty*, 2, 278–79; *Western Prelacy v. Getty* research on, 279, 292. *See also* Atamian, Hagop, and Zeytun Gospels; Atamian, Melkon, and Zeytun Gospels; Der Ghazarian, Harutiwn, and Zeytun Gospels; Furnus Monastery; Lyman, and Zeytun Gospels; Marash, Zeytun Gospels in; Matenadaran, Zeytun Gospels in; Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul, Zeytun Gospels at; Surenian, Asadur Agha, and Zeytun Gospels; Zeytun, Zeytun Gospels in

Zeytun Gospels colophons: by Hagop, forbidding further sale of manuscript, 85; history of manuscript described in, 83, 84–85, 326n13; history of Zeytun described in, 104–5; warning to unworthy potential readers, 70, 85; by Zeytun priests, 104–5

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